THE JOLLIET-MARQUETTE EXPEDITION 1673

Father Garraghan and "The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673"

AUTHOR'S NOTE:—The following reply to Father Garraghan's critique was originally submitted for publication to THOUGHT. It was in the New York office of that quarterly on July 25, 1929, and thence it was sent "to the proper Associate Editor at once." It failed to appear in the September issue of THOUGHT because, as the Managing Editor informed me, "it came in after our columns were filled, and the printer's dead-line had been passed." Then, under date of September 18, a letter reached me from St. Ignatius College, Chicago, explaining that its writer was "directed to return . . . the manuscript" and was therefore sending it "under separate cover;" that "at the last meeting of the Editors of THOUGHT [which was held a month before, on August 15, as I learned incidentally later on] it was voted to print this manuscript in a subsequent issue of THOUGHT provided it was materially condensed;" and that, if I would "be so good as to comply with this condition and return the manuscript to" him in Chicago, he would "see that it appears in THOUGHT as soon as possible."

To comply with this condition was impossible. Father Garraghan's critique comprising forty pages (approximately 13,000 words) could not be reasonably and adequately dealt with in a reply more "materially condensed" than the one originally submitted. This explains why it has appeared, not in THOUGHT which (to quote one correspondent) was "the logical place for it," but in THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW *(1929, November and December, 1930, January). The present pamphlet contains the reply as originally submitted to THOUGHT and eventually published in* THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

Quincy College, Quincy, Ill., *Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.*
December 21, 1929.

It is delightful to observe what efforts are being made to invalidate the work recently published by me under the title *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673.* The latest, appearing in *Thought*,[1] is by our foremost Jesuit historian, Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. That he and the Rev. editors devoted forty pages to the critique shows how earnestly they faced the task of refuting what even Fr. Garraghan concedes "is clearly written, copiously documented and bears on the face of it ample evidence of wide and scholarly research,"[2] and deserves commendation for "the wealth of documentation and the informing bibliographical surveys of the literature of the topics under discussion."[3] In saying that my work "is largely controversial in purpose and tone,"[4] Fr. Garraghan doubtlessly wishes to say that the author investigates the *dicta* of earlier historians and writers concerning the 1673 expedition and furnishes arguments to show that these *dicta* are erroneous; wherefore "argumentative" would have been a more precise term than "controversial." Fr. Garraghan's critique is divided into six parts. The first two deal almost exclusively with "New France in the Middle Seventeenth Century," while the remaining four discuss the questions concerning the nature of the 1673 expedition, the leadership in the enterprise, and the existing narrative of it.

I

In his discussion of the "long-continued and often vehement misunderstandings and disputes between the ecclesiastical powers . . . and the civil powers"[5] in New France, Fr. Garraghan conceals these highly important facts: that these "misunderstandings and disputes" occurred also before the days of Talon and Frontenac, that they

1 The America Press, June, 1929, pp. 32-71.
2 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 33.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

were occasioned by the control which the ecclesiastical powers had in course of time come to exercise in purely material and temporal affairs, and that of this control Louis XIV was determined to deprive them when, in 1663, he undertook to change the languishing colony on the St. Lawrence from a mission land into a royal colony. By failing to emphasize these facts and by speaking merely of "the civil powers . . . as represented by Talon, Frontenac and others,"[6] Fr. Garraghan from the start creates an erroneous impression.

It may be correct that Gallicanism connotes "the domination of the secular power over all departments of life, spiritual as well as temporal;" and that in the passage culled from Talon's instructions "is enunciated the central dogma of Gallicanism;"[7] but whether it was such complete domination that Louis XIV purposed when he approved Talon's instructions, is open to question. It would have been better if Fr. Garraghan had examined the entire body of the instructions and given his readers at least the paragraph containing the passage which he quotes. This paragraph reads:

"To this end, the Sieur Talon shall be informed that those who have given the most trustworthy and the most disinterested accounts of that country, have always said that the Jesuits, whose piety and zeal have contributed much toward drawing to it the people who are there at present, have assumed an authority there which exceeds the limits of their real power, which ought to regard only the consciences. To maintain themselves in it, it pleased them well to name the Bishop of Petrée[8] for exercising there the episcopal functions, because being in complete dependence on them; and even till now, they have either named the governors for the king in that country or they have employed every possible means to have those recalled who had been chosen for that office without their concurrence; wherefore, since it is absolutely necessary to keep in a just balance the temporal authority, which resides in the person of the king and in those who represent him, and the spiritual, which resides in the person of said bishop and the Jesuits, even though in a manner that the latter be inferior to the other, the first thing to which the Sieur Talon shall well attend and concerning which it is well that on departing from here he have almost full information, is to know perfectly in what position those two authorities are at present and in what position they ought naturally to be. To attain this, it will be necessary that he see here the Jesuit Fathers who have been in that country and who have all the correspondence with it, as also the procurator general and the Sieur Villeray, who are the two leading members of the sovereign council established at Quebec and who are said to be wholly devoted to the Jesuits, from whom he shall gather what they can know about it, without however disclosing his intentions."[9]

The remaining twenty paragraphs of Talon's instructions deal with the material development of New France, excepting the sixth,[10] which discusses the case of the unfortunate ex-Governor Mezy and shows plainly that, instead of desiring to trespass on the rights of the spiritual authorities, Louis XIV meant to protect these rights and bring to trial the ex-governor who had trespassed on them. Furthermore, later instructions of the king to his colonial officials in New France seem to indicate that he aimed merely at full and exclusive control of civil and temporal affairs, intending to leave purely spiritual and ecclesiastical matters in the hands of the bishop and his clergy. Thus, for instance, Sieur Gaudais, sent to New France as royal inspector in

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6 *Ibidem.*

7 *Ibidem.*

8 The title under which Msgr. de Laval, on December 8, 1658, was consecrated bishop *in partibus infidelium* and appointed vicar apostolic of New France. See Aug. Gosselin, *Vie de Mgr. De Laval,* Vol. I, Chapters 8 and 9.

9 Pierre Clement, *Lettres, Instructions et Memoirs de Colbert,* Vol. III2, pp. 389-390.

10 *Ibid.,* p. 391.

1669, was told not to meddle with the affairs of the bishop; while that same year Governor Courcelles was advised "to act with much prudence and circumspection" in his dealings with the spiritual authority.[11]

As may be gathered from their *Relations*, the Jesuits at the time were satisfied with conditions after 1663. On November 8, 1665, their superior at Quebec wrote: "Monsieur Talon made it evident at the outset that the King loves this country, and has great plans for its upbuilding—convincing us by his verbal assurances to that effect, and also much more, by his personal merits, which cause us already to taste the sweets of a superintendence so guided by reason, and of a policy in all respects Christian."[12] Two years later the superior had this to report concerning the material prosperity of New France: "The accomplishment of all this, at his Majesty's expense, obliges us to acknowledge all the results of his royal kindness, by vows and prayers which we constantly address to Heaven, and with which our churches re-echo, for the welfare of his sacred person. To him alone is due the whole glory of having put this country in such a condition that, if the course of events in the future correspond to that of the past two years, we shall fail to recognize Canada, and shall see our forests, which have already greatly receded, changing into towns and provinces which may some day be not unlike those of France."[13] When, in 1668, Talon departed for France, the Jesuit superior at Quebec testified that Talon "has not ceased to exert every effort for the general good of this country, for the cultivation of the fields, the discovery of mines, the promotion of commerce, and for every advantage that can conduce to the establishment and enlargement of this colony. Consequently, we would regret much more his return to France, if we did not have as his successor Monsieur Bouteroue who is all that we could wish for to make good the loss."[14] It is well known how vigorously Talon carried out his instructions and how he thereby came in conflict with the Vicar Apostolic of Quebec and the Jesuits. Still, when he returned to New France, Father Claude Dablon, recently appointed superior of the Jesuits there, wrote of "the joy afforded us all by his safe arrival."[15] And when, late in 1672, the Great Intendant and Governor Courcelles left for France, Dablon wrote: "We cannot without some grief watch the vessels set sail from our roadstead, since they bear away, in the persons of Monsieur de Courcelles and Monsieur Talon, what was most precious to us. We shall ever remember the former for having so effectively reduced the Iroquois to submission, and we shall ever wish for the latter's return to give the finishing stroke to the undertakings begun by him so greatly for the benefit of this country."[16]

From these statements one may legitimately conclude that the Jesuits were not dissatisfied with the policy pursued by the civil authorities and that "the main issue that put the Bishop of Quebec and with him the Jesuits in opposition to the representatives of Louis XIV in Canada," was not, as Fr. Garraghan states, "the supremacy of the Church in ecclesiastical affairs,"[17] but the supremacy of the Church in civil and material affairs, as had obtained in New France before 1663. The supremacy of the Church in ecclesiastical matters was not questioned at all; nor did the State "claim supremacy over the Church in ecclesiastical affairs"[18] beyond what prevailed in the mother country at the time by mutual agreement between the Holy See and the French government.

Consequently, Fr. Garraghan misrepresents matters when he reproduces an entire paragraph from *The Jolliet-*

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11 Steck, *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, Quincy, Ill., 1928, pp. 78-79.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

17 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 36.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 34, note 4.

Marquette Expedition, 1673 in order to let his readers decide whether "the implications of Dr. Steck's words" suggest "that expediency rather than Catholic principle should have guided the Bishop and the Jesuits in the crisis."[19] If the readers of *Thought* will take up my book and carefully read what precedes and follows the paragraph adduced by Fr. Garraghan, they will assuredly not make out of it what he intimates. They will notice immediately that Fr. Garraghan errs when he applies pronouncements of the nineteenth century to politico-ecclesiastical conditions obtaining two centuries earlier. In the days of Talon and Frontenac there was no question of any abstract "Catholic principle," things being in a state of transition, and consequently no question at all of "expediency" in the sense that Fr. Garraghan's stricture implies. It was, therefore, quite proper and fully orthodox for the author to ask "whether it would not have been more practical to let things take their course" and coöperate with the civil authorities, as the Franciscans at the time did, instead of pulling "against the stream" and thereby needlessly nourishing those "long-continued and often vehement misunderstandings and disputes."[20] The further reference at this point to "a strange, if unintentional, perversion of the facts"[21] is, like the foregoing, merely another instance of picking something out of the text that the text does not contain. For this reason it may be dismissed without comment. So also the matter that Fr. Garraghan "takes up with reluctance."[22] One more intimately acquainted with the history of New France, including that of the Mississippi Valley, from the days of Frontenac to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, will readily understand why, "when Frontenac disappeared from the scene," nay, even earlier, "there was no longer question of rivalry and conflict."[23]

Before passing to the next part of the critique, a word is in order on what is termed "a curious translation,"[24] of Lalement's letter. It was well for Fr. Garraghan to quote only the final sentence of the letter. But here is the entire paragraph: "Our Fathers are at peace with those not of the Society: with the ecclesiastical powers, *eminently;* with the secular powers, *seemingly*; as far as lies in us, *truly;* as far as lies in them, *doubtfully*: for they show that it is their desire to curb [*deprimant*] the Jesuits, who are too powerful in these parts and who, they say, have for forty years held sway in these parts. For this reason among others, it is believed, the Franciscan Fathers have been called hither. Be that as it may, we have received those Fathers and have shown them and will show them every sort of courtesy; nor will we on that account have ourselves curbed [*depressos*], but assisted."[25] Interpreting the final sentence in the light of what precedes, and noticing that "*depressos*" and "*deprimant*" are derived from the same verb "*deprimere*," *i.e.* "*to curb*," readers will not find the translation of the final sentence so curious as Fr. Garraghan would have them believe.

II

In the second part of his critique Fr. Garraghan writes: "Two reckless accusations in particular Frontenac felt himself moved to make against the Jesuits: that they engaged in the fur trade, and that they sought to usurp the civil functions of the state. Dr. Steck, one regrets to say, has allowed himself to echo both."[26] The reader will notice that nothing is said of any "reckless accusations" made by Talon and Courcelles, whose terms of office alone, to the exclusion of Frontenac's,

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

20 See in this connection Fr. Garraghan's interesting concession in note 35 on page 48. Of course, he only quotes Rochemonteix; but he does so without censure, apparently because he accepts his opinion.

21 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 38.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 41, note 19.

25 Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

26 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 42.

were specifically treated by the author of *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673.*

With regard to the fur trade, Fr. Garraghan culls from the work just cited three sentences to show how its author "has allowed himself to echo" Frontenac's (*sic*!) accusations. But by detaching these sentences from their context and confusing Frontenac's accusations with Talon's suspicions, the matter is completely misrepresented. Moreover, I nowhere claim that the Jesuits *engaged in* the fur trade, but that Talon suspected them of seeking to *control* the fur trade. That his suspicions "were not entirely unfounded" is based on far more evidence than the mere words of Dablon which Fr. Garraghan advances to the exclusion of all the other evidence.[27] Sometimes an action speaks more loudly and clearly than words; and it is for the historian to interpret not only words, but also actions in the light of other historical facts. Parkman's eulogy, as quoted by Fr. Garraghan,[28] is not only "a fine tribute" but also a just one, although the eulogy appears rather modified by that portion of Parkman's observation which Fr. Garraghan omits and by another statement of Parkman on the same page[29] which Fr. Garraghan overlooks.

As to seeking "to usurp the civil functions of the state," which Fr. Garraghan identifies with a "pursuit of land-grabbing" or an aim "at some sort of civil or political control of the western regions"[30]—here again he not only misrepresents matters by detaching sentences to support his contention, but, what is worse, draws from the text what the text does not contain. From a fair and impartial reading of the text one can gather no more than what Fr. Garraghan himself admits: "What really may have happened was that the Jesuits sought to occupy the western country for missionary purposes, but under the civil authority of Quebec, which of course would have been a perfectly legitimate procedure."[31] How desperately they fought to retain "the western country for missionary purposes" to the exclusion of other equally zealous missionaries is not discussed in the work which Fr. Garraghan criticises, although this undeniable fact[32] was employed (and justly so) by its author as a clue to interpreting facts directly connected with the 1673 expedition. Whether or not the western country would eventually be "under the civil authority of Quebec," Talon was not so very far from the truth when, with others in New France, he suspected the Jesuits of designing to occupy and develop the new West into so-called reductions, such as they had in Paraguay.[33] If they succeeded, he feared the new West would not be "under the civil authority of Quebec." To secure it, however, from the start for the civil authority, *i.e.*, to secure in the new West what he was gradually securing in the East, he organized and supervised the westward expeditions.

Anyone who carefully regards the circumstances that attended the expeditions of Saint-Lusson and La Salle will find these circumstances amply sufficient to warrant the conclusion that, by organizing the two expeditions, Talon intended to safeguard the interests of the king in the impending work

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27 See Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 144-145.

28 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 46.

29 Francis Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America* (Ed. 1896), p. 365, note 1. See also Parkman, *The Old Regime* (Ed. 196), pp. 378-380.

30 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 46.

31 *Ibid.*

32 See, for instance, the "Memoire" of Bishop Saint Vallier, MS. in the Library of Congress; also, especially for the eighteenth century, Claude J. Vogel, O.M.Cap., *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, chapters V to IX. This excellent study, written, like *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673,* under the guidance of Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America, is hereby recommended for perusal also in connection with what is treated above, over footnote 23.

33 At an earler date the Jesuits had contemplated such reductions for New France. See Rochemonteix, S.J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII Siecle,* Vol. I, pp. 384-388.

of territorial expansion by impressing on the missionaries in the West "that exploring and exploiting new territories belonged exclusively to the temporal authorities and that their [the Jesuits'] coöperation would be welcomed only so long as they were willing to recognize this principle."[34] Certainly, before the intendancy of Talon the Jesuits had been, to quote Fr. Garraghan, "the government's accredited agents in negotiating treaties with the Indians," and thereby had gained considerable "prestige and authority."[35] Having subsequently lost this agency, and with it the "prestige and authority" in eastern New France, the civil government assuming control of such matters, they designed to secure it in the West, where as yet no other Order had founded missions for the Indians. To thwart this design, which was directly opposed to his instructions, Talon undertook to have the West explored and exploited under the auspices of the civil government; while later on Governor Frontenac and the Bishop of Quebec agreed to have other missionaries share the new mission field with the Jesuits. In short, Fr. Garraghan seems not to have studied the history of New France very closely and not to have read *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* with a sufficiently open mind; otherwise he would scarcely find it "regrettable that with all his wide and scholarly grasp of individual facts Dr. Steck has not given us a really accurate and informing picture of Canada in the mid-seventeenth century."[36]

III

Perhaps the most amusing part of Fr. Garraghan's critique is the third, on the nature of the 1673 expedition. As to whether it was a "discovery" of the Mississippi, he writes: "If one is bent on being literal and meticulous in the matter, one may perhaps see in the terminology 'a violation of English idiom and the rules of sound logic' and even historical inconsistency; but the American historical scholarship continuing in the main to support it one need have no scruples in using it freely,"[37] *i.e.*, in designating the 1673 expedition a "discovery" of the river. Surely, his readers must have smiled when they came to this statement: "If one wishes to start a movement in favor of restricting the title of discoverer of the Mississippi to some or other of the Spanish conquistadores, one is of course at perfect liberty to do so; but until the movement assumes the proportions of an authoritative dictum of historical scholarship on the point at issue, one may be pardoned for clinging to the established terminology." To be sure, "one may be pardoned," if one is under the impression that the "established terminology"[38] is by that fact also the correct terminology, just as Fr. Garraghan "has no hesitation in using the term Recollect,"[39] even though this name, formerly employed to designate one of the four families of the Franciscan Order, was officially abolished in 1897, thirty-two years ago. Moreover, it may be a long time before "the movement assumes the proportions of an authoritative dictum of historical scholarship," especially if prominent representatives of historical scholarship, because their own interests are involved, refuse to join and endeavor to thwart the movement, preferring not to be "literal and meticulous in the matter" of correct and accurate terminology and continuing to "have no scruples in using" a term for the 1673 expedition that is idiomatically, logically, and even historically erroneous.

Amusing is also the criticism of the "curious contention of Dr. Steck's, namely, that the term 'discovery' precludes all previous knowledge of the existence of the thing discovered."[40] To see that it is neither "a curious contention" nor "a purely arbitrary restriction of the term in question," one need but consult the International Dictionary, for instance, according to which "to discover" means "to obtain

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[34] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[35] *Thought, l.c.*, p. 48.

[36] *Thought, l.c.*, p. 50.

[37] *Ibidem.*

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 39, note 13.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

for the first time sight or knowledge of, as of a thing existing already, but not known or perceived." Again, whoever reads the interpretation of this definition in *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*[41] will surely disagree with Fr. Garraghan's statement that the author's restriction of the term "has no warrant, as far as can be gathered, in dictionary or scientific usage."[42] Of course, "scientific usage" of this as of any other term is presumably in accord with the dictionary's definition. Hence, "if one is bent on being literal and meticulous"—the pity is, some writers are not so bent—then the Jolliet party of 1673 must certainly "be denied the title of discoverers of the Mississippi," because, for one reason, "they were previously aware of the existence of the great waterway and perhaps even of its approximate location."[43]

IV

The chain of reasoning in the fifth chapter of the book he seeks to discredit must have convinced even Fr. Garraghan; for he concedes that the author's "contention, namely, that Jolliet and not Marquette was the leader of the expedition, is entirely in accordance with the facts."[44] Then, it must have demanded considerable courage to admit that Father Charlevoix, who wrote nearly two centuries ago and presumably had free access to the Jesuit sources, notably those in Paris and Quebec, "was mistaken" in this as "in other particulars regarding Marquette."[45] Still, Fr. Garraghan holds that Marquette was "the virtual or moral head of the expedition and as such made the greater contribution to its success."[46] The irrelevancy, not to say futility, of such reasoning to save Marquette's fame is apparent.[47] Nor was the 1673 expedition on the part of the civil government in any way whatever "a joint achievement of the two explorers."[48] The civil government did not even know that Marquette had accompanied Jolliet, until it leaked out a few years later.[49] Before commenting on what Fr. Garraghan writes concerning Marquette's place in history, another quite unexpected concession of his should be noticed; namely, that "the purpose of [the Manitoumie maps] seems to have been to feature and capitalize in the interest of the missions the Jesuit share in the expedition" of 1673; and that these Manitoumie maps together with Dablon's letter of October 24, 1674 seem to show that the Jesuits "exaggerated their share and even claimed for the Order the exclusive credit" of the undertaking.[50] Indeed, "the whole thing is an enigma," to quote Fr. Garraghan, and it will remain an enigma until one faces the known facts boldly, weighs them carefully, interprets them impartially, and presents them accurately and precisely—a task which the present writer undertook to perform, but by which, it would seem, he gave offense.

To whatever agency of propaganda one ascribes "Marquette's place in history," the fact remains that it far exceeds the bounds of actual achievements, by which, of course, his place has to be determined. Consequently, the place he holds in American history to-day is by no means "a matter of legitimate pride to Catholic historians,"[51] who in presenting Catholic his-

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41 Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194. The reader may consult also the state of question, as defined by the author; *ibid.*, pp. 200-202.

42 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 52.—Did space permit, it would be highly interesting and illuminating to comment on the cases here (p. 52) enumerated by Fr. Garraghan.

43 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 52.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

45 *Ibid.*—The first edition of *Histoire et Déscription Genéral de la Nouvelle France* by P. Fr. X. Charlevoix, S.J., appeared at Paris in 1744.

46 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 53.

47 Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

48 *Thought, l. c.*, p. 53. — "Explorers" (sic!). Perhaps inadvertently Fr. Garraghan is "literal and meticulous in the matter" of terminology.

49 Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

50 *Thought, l.c.*, p. 54, note 45.—Fortunately, these statements were not by the present writer.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 56.—Fr. Garraghan thinks that "Marquette's fame is not at all conditioned by any theory we may hold as to his share in the expedition of 1673." (*Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.)

tory scientifically are governed by the same laws of historical research and criticism that govern non-Catholic historians. The facts are these: Marquette served as missionary for the comparatively brief space of six and one-half years;[52] he was not, like Father Allouez, S.J., and so many others, a pioneer and founder of missions, barring perhaps Mission St. Ignace, the site for which Dablon had previously selected;[53] Marquette's "previous study of the problems involved"[54] in the rumored Great Water were anticipated and shared by Allouez; "his widespread experience picked up in years of missionary travel" was gathered, to be exact, between October, 1668 and May, 1673—four and one-half years;[55] "his knowledge of the native languages" was not so exceptional, for instance, as to prevent Allouez from composing for him a prayerbook in the language of the Illinois;[56] "his unusually forceful personality" did not suffice to control the Indians at Chequamegon Bay and unite them for protection against the Sioux uprising, he being forced to accompany them on their flight to Sault Sainte Marie.[57] Of course, "his priestly character with its peculiar appeal to the Indian" was a qualification; but this all the Jesuit missionaries shared with him; nor was it proof, in the case of Marquette, against the ferocity of Indian tribes with whom the French had not previously come in contact. What saved the Frenchmen in 1673, when they reached the Arkansas region, was not the priestly character of Marquette, but the timely presentation of the calumet.[58] As historian in search for the truth, Fr. Garraghan surely took all these and numerous other circumstances into account when determining "Marquette's place in history." If he did, then the place he assigns to Marquette is as much an enigma as the Manitoumie maps and the letter of Dablon.

V

Real credit is due Fr. Garraghan for not having confused, as is usually done, the *Récit* or narrative of the 1673 expedition with Marquette's *Journal* of the second visit to the Illinois. This highly important point seems at last definitely settled.[59] On the other hand, Fr. Garraghan is entirely mistaken when he says that the fact "that no MS. of the document exists in Marquette's own handwriting" is offered as an argument against the authenticity of the *Récit*.[60] He must surely have noticed that this fact is used by the author merely to justify in part his inquiry into the authenticity, and this in view of the further fact that for so many years the Montreal MS. of the *Récit* was erroneously claimed to be in Marquette's own handwriting.[61] This latter fact and circumstance he leaves out of account when he refers to the four Gospels and the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius.[62] No claim as to handwriting is ever made regarding these, as was for so long a time made regarding the Montreal MS.

Erroneous is also his following statement: "When, however, we turn to the map we find that all the lettering, with two or three [three, to be exact] items excepted, evidently later additions, is in Roman capitals and none of it in cursive hand."[63] Most probably Fr. Garraghan did not consult the revised edition of *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*, enriched with maps and documents.[64] In this edition

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[52] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[54] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 56.

[55] Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110, 114.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

[60] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 57.

[61] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[62] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 57, note 47.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[64] It seemed strange to the writer from the start that Fr. Garraghan noticed only the unadorned paper edition of the book, published in June, 1927, ignoring completely the more elaborate edition published in 1928. He surely knew of this later edition.

he would have found two photographic reproductions of what is more accurately termed the map of "Jolliet-Marquette, 1672-1673."[65] On the first of these, No. 29,[66] the "two or three items excepted" (*i.e.*, those not in Roman capitals) happen to be in Marquette's handwriting and are, therefore, not "evidently later additions." These appear only on the map in its mutilated form (photographic reproduction, No. 30) as published by Thwaites in the 59th volume of *The Jesuit Relations.* This mutilation of the original map, made after 1852, whereby the handwriting of Marquette was completely destroyed, is really another of the many enigmas connected with the 1673 expedition.

Fr. Garraghan is again in error when he writes, perhaps unintentionally, that "Frontenac and Jolliet 'were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party'"[67] in 1673. The *Récit,* which he quotes, says nothing at all about Jolliet at this point, but cites Talon with Frontenac as being thus pleased.

It may be well to point out that Fr. Garraghan leaves entirely unexplained the significant fact that Marquette, in his *Journal,* does not call the Mississippi *Rivière de la Conception,* as in the *Récit* he is supposed to have promised. Then, what Dablon meant by "as one can judge from that" ("*comme on peut juger par là*") is by no means so evident as Fr. Garraghan would have his readers believe.[68] The French idiom seems to militate against his interpretation. Having the force of a demonstrative pronoun and adverb, "*par la*" may quite well point to what follows and not only to what precedes, as was the opinion of Thwaites, whom Fr. Garraghan incidentally mentions in the footnote. The reader may judge, then, how fair it is to designate this interpretation of the passage as "typical of the author's frequent capricious and arbitrary method of dealing with his material."[69]

In Dablon's letter of October 25, 1678, Fr. Garraghan finds a statement from which, he thinks, "the conclusion would seem inevitable that Dablon had in his possession a memoir or narrative by Marquette of the journey of 1673."[70] In the first place, he overlooks the circumstance that this letter was written in 1678, five years after the expedition, and sent with the *Rélation* which Dablon had prepared for that year.[71] Then, if Dablon had a narrative, sent to him by Marquette, in addition to Marquette's *Journal,* he would not have said that he got it all together "as well as I could," thereby plainly suggesting difficulties he had in getting the memoirs of Marquette. Again, it must be remembered that part of the *Rélation* of 1678[72] is Allouez's account of his own voyage to the Illinois and of what he therein terms "the perfect establishment of a mission"[73] among the Illinois. So, when Dablon spoke of "the establishment of the mission of the Illinois," he may have referred to the portion of the 1678 *Rélation* by Allouez, all the more so since Dablon

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[65] See Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings,* 1906, p. 183.

[66] It serves as frontispiece to Shea's *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852).

[67] *Thought, l. c.,* p. 62.

[68] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[69] *Ibid.,* p. 61.—In footnote 52, on page 65, Fr. Garraghan adduces "a supplementary instance of Dr. Steck's misreading of documents." This time Fr. Garraghan is substantially correct and the author readily admits his mistake. At the time when, as is his custom, he checked up Winsor's statement and found it to be a misreading of the document in Margry, he forgot to make the correction in his filed notes. Thus, quite naturally, Winsor's erroneous reading of Margry crept into the book. But it is not very serious, because, no matter what Frontenac understood Jolliet to say, we have Dablon's and Jolliet's precise declaration that Marquette had copies of Jolliet's account of the 1673 expedition. As to the above mistake, the author is grateful to Fr. Garraghan for the correction and assures him that the respective note has been corrected accordingly.

[70] *Thought, l. c.,* pp. 65-66.

[71] See *Rélations Inédites de la Nouvelle-France* in *Missions du Canada* (Paris, 1861, Douniol Ed.), Vol. II, p. 194.

[72] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, pp. 242-329 (306-317).

[73] See Montreal MS., p. 59. Allouez's account takes up pages 52-60 of this MS., the first part of which embodies the *Récit.*

says "of the" and not of *his* (*i.e.*, Marquette's) establishment. Fr. Garraghan next quotes "Dablon's letters of October 25, 1674, to the Father General, one in Latin and the other in French."[74] He admits that, when Dablon here refers to a copy of the narrative "as being in Marquette's possession," the original of it having been "lost in an accident to Jolliet," he does not say "in so many words, that it was Marquette's own"[75] narrative. So this second reference of Dablon, made in 1674, is just as ambiguous as the one he made in 1678.[76] On the other hand, what Dablon promised to obtain "next year from Father Marquette" is very clearly and precisely stated in the "Relation" of August 1, 1674. He promised to get what, he says, Marquette had; namely, "a copy of that one which has been lost" by Jolliet in the accident at Lachine Rapids[77] and which Jolliet declared with equal clearness and precision was his (Jolliet's) own narrative.[78] Having left this clear and precise statement of Dablon and of Jolliet entirely unnoticed, and taken into account only the two ambiguous statements of Dablon, Fr. Garraghan nevertheless rejects it as "a perfectly gratuitous assumption to suppose that the narrative to which Dablon refers as lost in an accident to Jolliet, and of which a copy remains in Marquette's hands, was the journal of Jolliet."[79] The author of *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* proceeded otherwise in his investigation. He considered every possible circumstance connected with the authenticity of the *Récit*. Hence it is hardly fair to say that his "eagerness to press every point in favor of his thesis carried him time and again beyond the limits set by sound historical criticism."[80] He may have eagerly pressed "every point in favor of his thesis;" but certain it is that he did not purposely garble, distort, or suppress anything.

What Fr. Garraghan mainly objects to is the author's statement "that the impossibility of Marquette having written the *Récit* as it exists to-day 'has been demonstrated'" and "proved to a certainty."[81] It would have been better, though quite destructive of his own contention, if Fr. Garraghan had laid greater stress on the parallelisms we find in the *Récit* and the *'Relation,'*[82] instead of disposing of this most damaging evidence in a mere footnote.[83] Apparently, he disposed of it thus because he himself concedes in the beginning of his critique that "in the matter of textual criticism particularly Dr. Steck achieves some happy results."[84] As a matter of fact, the results achieved are so happy that they "demonstrate" to a finality what the "instances" of internal evidence, "too numerous to mention,"[85] very strongly indicate; namely, that "the author of the narrative as it exists in Thevenot's *Récueil* and in the Montreal and Paris manuscripts can not be Marquette."[86]

But who is the author, if not Marquette? On this point there is *no cer-*

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[74] To be exact, the Latin letter, dated October 25, 1674, was addressed to the Father General; the French letter, however, dated October 24 (not 25), 1674, was addressed to the Provincial in Paris. For the first, see Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 11, footnote. For the second, see *Rélations Inédites* (*ut supra*), Vol. II, pp. 3-15.

[75] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 66.

[76] The same is true of Marquette's statement in his *Journal* as to what he sent to Dablon in the way of an account of the 1673 expedition. Fr. Garraghan does not see any ambiguity in Marquette's statement because he does not regard it in the light of other facts. If Marquette, for instance, sent his own narrative, what about Dablon's promise made so shortly before and presumably kept by him when he wrote to Marquette? To ignore Dablon's promise and then reject the writer's explanation of Marquette's statement as "purely fictitious," does not impress one very favorably. (See *Thought, l. c.*, pp. 63-64.)

[77] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 288. See also reproduction of document, No. 2.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

[79] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 66.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 58; also pp. 57, 68, 69.

[82] Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-306.

[83] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 58, note.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[86] Steck, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

tainty. All that can be offered is *an hypothesis,* resting for support on other known facts and always remaining more or less probable. As "it must be allowed that a certain air of mystery attended the circumstances under which the *Récit* first saw publication,"[87] there is "great probability . . . that in its present form" the *Récit* "is in substance" what Marquette had in his possession and in October, 1674, sent to Quebec; namely, "Jolliet's journal," sent to Dablon by Marquette (who hoped it would satisfy the wishes of his Superior) and eventually "recast and amplified by Dablon with the aid of other sources which he had at his disposal."[88] Indeed, the numerous circumstances pointing to Dablon as the author of the *Récit* seem to have impressed Fr. Garraghan as they impressed the author whom he censures; for they elicited from him, finally, this remarkable concession: "As a matter of fact, as students of the 'Relations' well know,[89] these reports were frequently edited by Superiors for publication, a process that involved not merely omissions or additions but also, so it would appear,[90] actual alterations of the text. It is not at all unlikely[91] that Marquette's narrative of the 1673 expedition was thus dealt with by Father Dablon, and in this sense one may maintain with some show of probability[92] that the *Récit* in its present form is not the missionary's [*i.e.,* Marquette's] composition."[93]

As the reader will notice, after stating his major proposition with laudable clearness and accuracy, Fr. Garraghan refuses to weigh the most telling facts when stating his minor proposition; wherefore his conclusion cannot be correct. Moreover, he confuses what the author of *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* has "demonstrated" as certain with what he has proposed as probable—the *conclusion* that Marquette could not have written the narrative as it exists to-day with the *theory* that it may have been written or "edited" by Dablon. Concerning the authorship of the *Récit,* Fr. Garraghan concedes much and refutes nothing of the evidence produced in support of the author's conclusion and theory.

VI

In the last part of his critique, Fr. Garraghan defends "Dablon's honor and good name as they appear in the records." He will certainly agree, however, that the share which Dablon had, as Superior, in "editing" the *Récit* and embodying it in the *Rélation* of 1677-1678; that the letters he wrote in October, 1674; that the mystifying circumstances attending the "edition" of it, especially the strange disappearance of the original in Marquette's handwriting, whereas the *Journal* of Marquette was preserved in the original, and the equally strange disappearance of the copies of Jolliet's account; that Dablon's clear statement concerning the whereabouts of these copies of Jolliet's account and his promise to get these copies from Marquette; that his failure ever to speak distinctly and explicitly of a narrative written by Marquette; that Jolliet's peculiar attitude toward the Jesuits after the appearance of Thevenot's *Récueil* in 1681;—that these outstanding facts ought to be disposed of before the theory they bolster is brushed aside as carrying "on the face of it its own refutation."[94] Had he offered an interpretation of these facts, instead of terming them "the merest assumptions," his defense of "Dablon's honor and good name" would doubtlessly carry greater weight. Fr. Garraghan thinks he finds the author of the theory regarding Dablon "off his guard"

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[87] *Thought, l. c.,* p. 68.

[88] Steck, *op. cit.,* p. 310.

[89] But do not always admit so readily as Fr. Garraghan does.

[90] Especially from the *Rélation* of 1672-1673, as published in the Thwaites edition, Vol. 57 (pp. 33-313) and Vol. 58 (pp. 19-89).

[91] But from the parallelisms it is certain.

[92] Rather, with certainty, on the strength of the parallelisms.

[93] *Thought, l. c.,* p. 68.

[94] *Ibid.,* p. 70.

when he (the author) "instinctively rejects . . . a certain supposition, . . . seeing that it 'would reflect unfavorably on both Dablon and Marquette.' "[95] In the paragraph where the author advances this "certain supposition" it has an entirely different meaning and import[96] from what Fr. Garraghan intimates and it in no way at all contravenes the author's theory regarding Dablon's authorship of the *Récit*. Here, as repeatedly elsewhere in his critique, Fr. Garraghan conveniently misreads the text.

The concluding paragraph of the critique is quite superfluous. For one thing, it will not serve to erase the impression that Fr. Garraghan was "singularly lacking in a sense of humor" by undertaking "to debate these rather academic issues on other than scientific grounds."[97] What still remains a matter of honest and sincere expectation on the part of the author is a refutation written, in the light of solid facts and along the lines of sound historical criticism, as impartially and dispassionately as he wrote *The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673*. The nonappearance of such a refutation may encourage him sufficiently to cite a matter concerning the *genuineness* of the *Récit* that will cause even greater astonishment than was caused by what he has already "demonstrated" concerning its *authenticity*. So far, two noteworthy attempts have been made to refute his work on the 1673 expedition—one by Miss Agnes Repplier in her *Père Marquette*,[98] the other by Fr. Garraghan in the current issue of *Thought*. To the latter attempt the *Catholic Daily Tribune* for May 23, 1929, refers as follows: "In *Thought*, the Jesuit quarterly, the veteran historian of St. Louis University, Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., tries to refute the propositions advanced by Father Steck." Whether he succeeded in his attempt the readers of *Thought* may now decide for themselves. The writer of these lines is certain, however, that what he wrote "will not be interpreted," to quote Fr. Garraghan, "as implying anything else than a desire to ascertain and present what he conceives to be the actual truth as to the points at issue."[99] In fact, had there been reason for him to fear a different interpretation, he would have most assuredly left the critique entirely unnoticed, hoping that someone else would take upon himself the unwelcome burden of a reply.

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[95] *Idem.*

[96] Steck, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-306.

[97] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 71.

[98] For the writer's critique of this volume see THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, Vol. XXXVI (1929), nos. 4, 5, and 6. This critique has been reprinted and published in pamphlet form. The copies still available may be had for a two-cent stamp each from the author of this paper.

[99] *Thought, l. c.*, p. 70-71.

THE JOLLIET-MARQUETTE EXPEDITION, 1673

THE JOLLIET-MARQUETTE EXPEDITION, 1673

by

Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., PH. D.
Author of Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England, etc.

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TO

MY FATHER

PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to present the Jolliet-Marquette expedition of 1673 in its proper historical setting. This has never been done and, as a result, certain points connected with the enterprise have been generally misinterpreted and misrepresented. The cause as also the effect of the expedition of 1673 was rivalry between Church and State, brought on by conditions that prevailed at the time in France and in the French colony on the St. Lawrence. These conditions, political and social, must necessarily be taken into account if one would correctly interpret and properly appreciate the event that they set in motion.

Three distinct problems concerning the expedition of 1673 stand out in bold relief. Is it correct to say that on this occasion the French "discovered" the Mississippi River? Then, who is to be regarded as the leader of the enterprise, Marquette or Jolliet? Finally, was the narrative of the expedition, as it exists to-day, written by Marquette? While reading the accounts of past writers, these questions constantly recur to one's mind. And why? Because in connection with them one finds statements that are either contradictory among themselves or incompatible with sound reason or at variance with other incontestable facts. Statements of such a nature on any given topic inevitably rouse curiosity, and curiosity leads in history as in every other science to investigation.

Not all the conclusions arrived at in this study are new. Some of them have found expression more or less definite in other writings. What up to the present, however, so far as the writer knows, has not been attempted is a detailed portrayal of the evidence in support of these conclusions. The presentation of this evidence in detail is the chief purpose of the study. The writer proposes to advance the reasons why the enterprise of 1673 can not be styled a "discovery" of the Mississippi River, why Jolliet must be considered the leader of the enterprise, and why the narrative of the expedition can not be regarded as having been written by Marquette.

The researches necessary for the writing of this volume have placed its author under great obligations to many. His list of

those who by personal contact or by correspondence have rendered him indispensable aid is a long one—so long, in fact, that he can not mention them individually. Special thanks he owes to the custodians and officials of the libraries he visited, where every opportunity was given him to consult books and manuscripts: in particular, the Catholic University Library and the Library of Congress in Washington, the Ayer Library preserved in the Newberry Library (Chicago), the Library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison), and the Library of Knox College (Galesburg, Ill.). Then the writer expresses his indebtedness to Rev. Dr. Peter Guilday, under whose guidance at the Catholic University of America the study was written as also to the Rev. Dr. Valentine Schaaf, O.F.M., who offered valuable suggestions and carefully noted typographical errors; likewise to Dr. Leo F. Stock, Dr. James A. Robertson, and Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, whose active interest was a source of inspiration and encouragement. For most of the maps the writer thanks Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Dr. Charles O. Paullin, of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Confrères and friends in Canada and Europe provided invaluable information and materials. In this connection, mention must be made of M. Gustave Lanctôt, Rev. Theodoric Paré, O.F.M., Rev. Dr. Louis Maltais, O.F.M., Rev. Jerome Goyens, O.F.M., and Rev. Livarius Oliger, O.F.M. For assistance in the final revision of the work the writer is indebted to his fellow Professors at Quincy College, in particular to Rev. John B. Koebele, O.F.M., M. S. The publication of the work in its present form was possible only through the munificence of the Minister Provincial of the Sacred Heart Province, the Very Rev. Vincent Schrempp, O.F.M., and his Provincial Council. For this appreciation of his university work the writer is deeply grateful. To all, then, who have in any way assisted him the writer hereby expresses his sincere gratitude.

THE AUTHOR.

QUINCY COLLEGE,
Quincy, Illinois, October 22, 1927.

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From *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.*
10. *Journal* of Marquette.....Montreal MS., p. 63
11. *Journal* .....Montreal MS., (p. 76)
From MS. in Archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, Canada.
12. "Letter" of Marquette, tracing from his *Journal.*
From Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley.*

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTHERN MYSTERY AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

INTRODUCTION

The Problem of the Northern Mystery and The Discovery of the Mississippi River

The earliest notice of an immense river coming from the unknown north and emptying into the Gulf of Mexico was the fruit of Pineda's search for a trans-continental waterway between the peninsula of Yucatán and Florida. This was in 1519, the same year in which Magellan explored the Atlantic coast of South America and discovered a passage to the South Sea. More definite information regarding Pineda's river, already known to cartographers as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, reached Spain in 1537. It was the result of the expedition entrusted to Narváez for the purpose of exploring and colonizing the gulf region extending from the peninsula of Florida to the northern confines of Mexico. Cabeza de Vaca, one of the four who survived this expedition, reported to the viceroy in Mexico as also to the king of Spain. What he related concerning the great river determined the purpose underlying the enterprise of De Soto and Coronado. In both cases the object was to find a waterway to the South Sea and to colonize the northern interior. The expedition of Coronado from the west heard of the Rio del Espíritu Santo and came within about five hundred miles of its banks. Simultaneously the expedition of De Soto from the east not only reached but also crossed the great river and, after the death of the leader, sailed down the stream for a distance of seven hundred miles. Whatever opinion one may adopt as to who deserves the distinction of having discovered the Rio del Espíritu Santo—whether Pineda or De Vaca or De Soto—this much is certain: the river was discovered by a Spaniard engaged by the Spanish government for the purpose of solving the so-called northern mystery. Before treating the five expeditions connected with this discovery, it will be well to point out briefly how the quest for a passage to the South Sea originated

and how it was ultimately restricted to the continent of North America.

Whatever purpose Columbus may have had in mind when he ventured into the uncharted western seas,[1] it is known from his letters that he took Cuba to be Cipango, the threshold of Catayo, and that he undertook his last voyage in 1502 to find a waterway leading to this land. Under date of July 7, 1503, he informed Ferdinand and Isabella that he had "arrived on May 13, in the province of Mago, which is a part of Catayo."[2] If Columbus wrote this for the purpose of "mystifying the Sovereigns, and through them the pilots and adventurers who were ready to sail to the New World and profit by his discoveries,"[3] then he succeeded far better than he anticipated. His discoveries and theories created among European navigators an eager desire to locate a western passage to China and it raised a geographical problem that was destined to interest Europe for the next three and one-half centuries.

Of this problem we may distinguish three phases, in keeping with the three geographical divisions of the western hemisphere and with the chronological order of the expeditions undertaken to solve the problem. These three phases are the southern, the central, and the northern. The southern and central phases were solved by Spain long before any other European power, except Portugal, became a serious competitor. The northern phase, however, which Bancroft aptly styles the northern mystery,[4] remained an unsolved problem till the year 1854 when an expedition

[1] It is very probable that the immediate purpose of Columbus was to seek new lands in the west and that the idea of reaching Asia by a western route occurred to him only later. See Thatcher, John Boyd, *Christopher Columbus* (Cleveland, 1903), I, 440; II, 617-621; also Vignaud, Henri, *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1911), I, 37; II, 251-286, 323-325.

[2] *Relaciones y Cartas de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1914), p. 372. Since the days of the Franciscan, John de Plano Carpinis, and of the Venetian explorer Marco Polo, the continent of Asia was known as Catayo (also Cathai and Cataia) and that of Japan as Cipango.

[3] Thatcher, II, 618.

[4] Bancroft, H. H., *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 5 and *passim.*

under Captain MacClure demonstrated the possibility of communicating by sea between Bering Strait and Melville Sound.[5]

The attempt to solve the central phase of the problem drew the attention of Spain to the Rio del Espíritu Santo. From Pineda's description of the mouth of this river the Spanish government had reason to suspect that the stream might prove to be a waterway across the continent. This suspicion gave rise to the conviction that it would be necessary for Spain to secure the northern regions against rival nations. In this way the impulse was given to the expeditions that resulted in the discovery of what is known to-day as the Mississippi River.

On his third voyage to the New World, in 1498, Columbus discovered the mainland of South America. This discovery, "combined with Portuguese successes in India, gave new incentive to voyages, and within the next few years many thousands of miles of coastline of South and Central America were explored in the interest of trade, discovery, and international rivalry."[6] By 1500, the Spanish navigators Ojeda, Bastides, Pinzón and De Lepe had explored the entire northern coastline of South America and Panamá. In 1502 Columbus himself searched for a strait along the Atlantic coast of Honduras, Costa Rica, and part of Panamá; and two years later La Cosa and Vespucius sailed two hundred miles up the Atrado River in present Colombia. In 1506, the year of Columbus's death, Pinzón and Solís undertook to solve the problem by sailing along the coast of Honduras and eastern Yucatán; while Solís in 1511 coasted down the Atlantic shores of South America as far as San Matias Gulf. In 1513, only seven years after Columbus's death, Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panamá and discovered the Pacific Ocean, thereby disclosing the fact that another immense body of water separated the New World from China. It was largely this discovery that led to a solution of the southern phase of the problem. In 1519 Magellan crossed the Atlantic, coasted down the shores of Brazil as far as

[5] Brittain, Alfred, *Discovery and Exploration* in *History of North America* Series (Philadelphia, 1903), pp. 473, 502.

[6] Bolton (H. E.)-Marshall (T. M.), *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1921), p. 23.

Rio de Janeiro, thence continued southward, and eventually discovered the strait that bears his name. Passing through this strait, Magellan crossed the Pacific Ocean and reached the Philippines, where he was killed. Under the command of Elcano the fleet proceeded on its voyage and in 1522 returned to Spain, having achieved the first circumnavigation of the globe.

It is interesting to recall that the Spanish expeditions which resulted in the discoveries of the Strait of Magellan and of the Rio del Espíritu Santo were undertaken in the same year and for the same purpose. Hoping to find a passage by water to the recently discovered South Sea, Governor Garay of Jamaica placed four vessels in command of Pineda. In 1519 the explorers sailed from Jamaica and reached the southern extremity of Apalache in Florida. Thence they continued westward along the north shore of the gulf. The discovery of the river which Garay later named Rio del Espíritu Santo is thus recorded in the letters patent issued to Garay in 1521:

> . . . they entered a river which they found very large and carrying very much water, at the entrance of which, you say, they found a large town and remained in it more than forty days, careening their vessels, and the people of the land very peaceful with the Spaniards who went with the fleet, trading with them and giving them of what they had for a distance of six leagues which they sailed up that river. The said vessels found forty towns on either side, and of all that they thus coasted and discovered, admiring very much the land, the harbors, and the rivers, as appears from the drawing which on your part has been delivered to us by the pilots who went with the said fleet.[7]

By 1524, Cortés had subjugated the formidable Aztecs of Mexico. In that year, on October 15, he wrote to Emperor Charles, telling him of his achievements and prospects. He contended that somewhere on the North-Atlantic coast there must be "a strait which passes to the South Sea," adding that, if the Spaniards found and

[7] *Real Cedula* to Francisco de Garay, 1521 in Navarrete, Martin Fernandez de, *Colección de los Viajes y Descubrimientos que hicieron los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1825-1837), III, No. XLV; also in Pacheco y Cardenas, *Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de las Indias* (Madrid, 1864-1884), II, 558-567.

occupied this strait, "navigation from the spice region to these kingdoms of your Majesty would be very easy and short, . . . and without risk or danger to the ships, which come and go, because they would always come and go through the kingdoms and dominions of your Majesty." [8] Cortés was ever after eager to solve this problem, and it was this ambitious design that eventually brought him in conflict with Viceroy Mendoza. Meanwhile, the conqueror of Mexico began to colonize the land of the Aztecs and then gave his attention to explorations westward and northward. In 1527 his fleet under Saavedra sailed north as far as the present port of Colima and thence crossed the Pacific Ocean to India. Five years later he commissioned Hurtado de Mendoza to explore the coastline of Jalisco and Sinaloa. The next year, 1533, Jiménez touched on the southern extremity of Lower California. That this was not an island, as Jiménez had believed, but a peninsula was proved by Ulloa in 1539 when, in the service of Cortés, he sailed up the western coast of Mexico and reached the head of the Gulf of California. In this way, by 1539, Spanish explorers and navigators had solved the central phase of the problem.

The first Europeans to attempt a solution of the northern phase were the English. In 1497 and again in 1498 John Cabot was commissioned by Henry VII to sail from Bristol in search of a passage to China. On the first voyage he reached Labrador, rounded Newfoundland, and skirted Nova Scotia. Great uncertainty prevails, however, regarding the extent of his second voyage in 1498. Bourne concludes that "he followed the coast of North America down to the latitude of South Carolina, if not somewhat farther." [9] After 1502, Newfoundland was visited regularly by English as well as Spanish, French, and Portuguese fishing expeditions. But serious efforts to solve the northern mystery were not made until France, jealous of Spain and Portugal, faced the problem systematically in the hope of finding a strait across the

[8] *Cartas de Relación de Fernando Cortes* in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1918, Vedia ed.), I, 112.

[9] Bourne, Edward Gaylord, *Spain in America* in *The American Nation* Series (New York, 1904), p. 61. See also Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States*, 1513-1561 (New York, 1911), p. 124.

northern continent, corresponding to the one of Magellan on the southern.

In 1524 Verrazano, a Florentine in the service of France, searched for a western route to China along the North-Atlantic shores, probably from Cape Fear to Newfoundland. Ten years later Cartier undertook the first of his three voyages to the north coasts of America. His second voyage, in 1535, was made expressly to find a waterway to the Pacific. After examining the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he had reached the year before, he continued westward and sailed up the St. Lawrence River probably as far as the present city of Montreal. His third and last voyage, in 1541, was financed by Roberval. The royal commission this time designated the regions as Canada and spoke of them as being the extremity of Asia. Having failed to found a colony on the St. Lawrence, Cartier and the survivors of the expedition returned to France in 1543. Not until some sixty years later did France make another attempt to explore and colonize the St. Lawrence Gulf region.

While these sporadic attempts to solve the northern mystery were being made by England and France, the Spanish government was facing the problem more systematically. In 1523 Ayllón obtained a royal grant empowering him to colonize Florida and instructing him to explore northward along the coast in search of a strait.[10] On the strength of this grant, Ayllón entrusted two caravels to Quexos who in 1525 sailed from Española (Haiti) and cruised northward along the Atlantic coast probably as far as the present New York harbor region.[11] That same year a dispute arose between Spain and Portugal regarding territorial claims in the East Indies. It was suggested that the question might be solved by finding a waterway to the Pacific across the northern continent of the New World, similar to the one which Magellan had discovered on the southern. Accordingly, Gómez sailed from Spain across the Atlantic in a northwesterly direction and touched at Nova Scotia. Thence he sailed south along the coast as far as

[10] For his commission, dated June 12, 1523, see Pacheco y Cardenas, XIV, 503-508; also Navarrete, III, No. XLVI.

[11] See Lowery, p. 164.

Florida.[12] Thus, by 1525, Spain had explored the entire Atlantic coastline from Nova Scotia to Magellan Strait. In 1541 Spain became alarmed over Cartier's voyage to the northwest. There was fear that he might find a passage to the Pacific by means of the recently discovered St. Lawrence River. But these fears were allayed when it was reported, erroneously, that the fleet in question was headed for the South Atlantic.[13]

The rival claims of Spanish explorers to territory extending from Yucatán along the gulf coast of Florida as also the search for a strait across the unknown continent were instrumental in making known to Spain, in 1519, the Rio del Espíritu Santo. Before long Pineda's river became an object of speculation among Spanish navigators and government officials as a possible passage to China.[14] This it was that induced Spain to explore the regions north of Mexico and, despite her vast possessions in the New World, to encourage the occupation of Florida. The river which Pineda discovered may not have been the one we now call the Mississippi.[15] Yet it was the effort to colonize and explore the continent of North America, then known as La Florida, that led to the discovery of what map makers without hesitation identified with Pineda's river and on their charts named the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

The first Spaniard to attempt the colonization of Florida was

[12] Gómara, Francisco Lopez de, *Historia General de las Indias, Primera Parte* in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1918, Vedia ed.) I, 220-221. See also Lowery, pp. 168-169.

[13] See Buckingham-Smith, *Colección de varios documentos para la Historia de la Florida* (London, 1857), p. 113.

[14] That the river was known in 1521 is evident from the *Real Cedula* issued in that year to Garay. Further evidence is the map of the Gulf of Mexico which Navarrete found in the Spanish archives and which Winsor says "probably embodies the results of Pineda's expedition to the northern shores of the Gulf in 1519." The map is not dated; but, according to Winsor, it was "sent to Spain by Garay, the Governor of Jamaica." See Winsor, Justin, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1889), II, 218-219.

[15] See Scaife, Walter, *America—Its Geographical History* (Baltimore, 1892). In the "Supplement" to this volume, Scaife undertakes to prove that Pineda's river was the present Mobile.

Juan Ponce de León who had discovered it in 1513. In February, 1521, he sailed from Porto Rico, his two vessels carrying two hundred soldiers and colonists, besides the supplies necessary for planting a colony. That secular priests as army chaplains and friars as Indian missionaries accompanied the expedition is certain. The records do not state, however, to what religious order the friars belonged. Shea thinks that they were "in all probability of the order of St. Dominic."[16] A settlement was begun probably near what is now Charlotte Harbor, but furious attacks by the Indians interrupted the erection of dwellings. In one of the encounters with the natives eighty Spaniards were killed and De León himself was severely wounded. While the Indians were preparing for a final and decisive assault, the survivors lost courage and prevailed on their leader to desist from the enterprise. On the return voyage one of the vessels was lost at sea with all on board, and a few days after reaching Cuba the leader himself succumbed to the wound he had received.[17]

In 1526 Ayllón was ready to undertake the colonization and exploration of Florida, for which he had stipulated with the king three years before. On board his six vessels that sailed from Española in July were three Dominican friars,[18] one of them the well-known Antonio Montesino, and five hundred colonists, men and women. An extra vessel carried most of the eighty-nine horses and provisions for the future colony. The expedition landed at the mouth of a river near Cape Fear, on the coast of North Carolina. After exploring the interior and vainly seeking not only a strait but also a place suitable for a colony, Ayllón turned south some hundred and twenty miles and settled probably on what is now the Pedee River, in Horry County, South Carolina.

[16] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886), p. 103.

[17] Lowery, 157-160.

[18] The *Real Cedula*, drawn up and dated June 12, 1523, on the strength of which Ayllón set out on this enterprise three years later, directed that a Franciscan friary be erected in the colony. See Pacheco y Cardenas, XIV, 508; also Navarrete, III, No. XLVI. If three years later, in 1526, the Dominicans accompanied the expedition, it was due perhaps to the controversy then carrying on in the West Indies over the Indian question.

The colony was named San Miguel de Gualdape, from which we may conclude that it was founded on September 29, the feast of San Miguel or St. Michael. Gualdape was the name which the Indians gave to the river. But once more the attempt to colonize Florida was doomed to failure. Many of the colonists died of disease and starvation. Among them was Ayllón himself. His death, which occurred on October 10, 1526, was largely the cause of the serious dissensions and rivalries that soon put an end to the colony. It was apparently three months after Ayllón's death that Gómez with only one hundred and fifty survivors set sail for Española.[19]

At the very time that this colony was being abandoned, the king of Spain signed an agreement permitting Pánfilo de Narváez "to explore, conquer and colonize the lands extending from the Rio de las Palmas up to Florida exclusively."[20] Armed with this contract, Narváez returned to the West Indies. If the failure of Ayllón's project reached the ears of Narváez, it did not discourage him, though he had difficulty keeping together the colonists whom he had brought with him from Spain for the enterprise. On February 20, 1528, his fleet of four vessels and one brigantine sailed from Havana. The four hundred colonists were accompanied by a number of secular priests and five Franciscan friars, the former to serve in the colony as chaplains, the latter to open missions among the Indians.[21] How seriously Spain contemplated the colonization and occupation of Florida is indicated by the fact that one of the Franciscans, Juan Juarez, came with the expedition in the capacity of bishop-elect.[22] The voyage from Havana was a stormy one and almost two months elapsed

[19] Lowery, pp. 164-168.

[20] Pacheco y Cardenas, XXII, 224-245. The contract is dated December 11, 1526.

[21] Two of the friars, Bishop-elect Juan Juarez and Brother Juan Palos, had come to Mexico in 1524 with ten other Franciscans under the leadership of Martin de Valencia. These twelve friars, the first to undertake systematic mission work among the Aztecs, are known in history as "The Twelve Apostles of Mexico."

[22] See *The Catholic Historical Review* (Washington), IV (1919), 479-485.

before the expedition sighted Florida.[23] For four days they sailed up the western coast and on Holy Thursday, April 16, cast anchor in probably what is now Clearwater Bay, just north of Tampa Bay.[24] Here Narváez and his men went ashore and took formal possession of the territory in the name of Spain. The vessels carrying the women were then sent northward along the coast, while Narváez and the men proceeded by land in the same direction, first keeping close to shore and in sight of the vessels and then penetrating farther inland. As a result, the vessels lost sight of the men, turned back, and finally, after vainly searching and waiting for them, sailed home without them. Narváez and his followers meanwhile pushed northward into the interior, crossing the Witlacoochee and Suwanee rivers. On June 25, they reached the present Tallahassee. Thence they continued westward till the beginning of August, when the leader finally led his weary and famished troops southward toward the gulf, where he doubtless hoped to find the vessels waiting for him. But when they came to Apalachee Bay, no vessels were in sight. Disappointed but not discouraged, the men contrived to construct five

[23] The narrative of the expedition, *Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca y Relacion de la Jornada que hizo a la Florida* is in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1918, Vedia ed.), I, 518-548. This narrative, written by Cabeza de Vaca, was translated into English by Frederick Webb Hodge and published by him with critical annotations in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543—Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1907), pp. 12-126. Substantially the same account, though considerably briefer, is in Oviedo, Gonzalo Fernandez de, *Historia General de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851-1855 ed.), I, lib. xxxv, cap. i-vi. This account was drawn up for the *Real Audiencia*, then residing at Santo Domingo, and signed by the three Spaniards who survived the expedition. See Winship, George Parker, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542* in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), p. 349. Important as a source of information for this expedition is also the *Relacion del Viaje* in Pacheco y Cardenas, XIV, 265-279. It was "composed by the treasurer Cabeza de Vaca," as stated in the full heading, probably during the time he tarried in Mexico, waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Spain and present it to the king. It is undated and much briefer than De Vaca's *Naufragios*, for which it seems to have been a sketch.

[24] See Lowery, pp. 453-455.

small boats. In these, on September 22, the two hundred and forty survivors set sail in a westerly direction, hoping to get to Mexico. After leaving Pensacola Bay, they encountered a violent storm. Fortunately, the surging billows cast them on an island near the coast. From here they gained the mainland and obtained fresh water, but almost fell victims to Indian treachery. Bent on getting to Mexico, the men repaired the boats and, favorable weather setting in, they once more braved the angry sea. But before long another storm arose and lashed the frail boats westward.

Apparently on November 2, 1528, the boat in charge of Cabeza de Vaca came to "the mouth of a broad river, which poured so large a stream of water into the gulf, that he took fresh water from the sea. It was probably the Mississippi River." [25] De Vaca describes the incident as follows:

> We sailed that day until the middle of the afternoon, when my boat, which was the first, discovered a point made by the land, and against a cape opposite, passed a broad river. I cast anchor near a little island, forming the point, to wait the arrival of the other boats. The Governor [Narváez] did not choose to come up, and entered a bay near by, in which there were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, the stream entering it in freshet. To parch some of the maize we brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on an island; but finding no wood we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain the land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and found with thirty fathoms we could not get bottom; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves that the current was not the cause of failure. Toiling in this manner to fetch land, we navigated three days, and at the end of this time, a little before the sun rose, we saw smoke in several places along the shore. Attempting to reach them, we found ourselves in three fathoms of water, and in the darkness we dared not come to land; for as we had

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

> seen so many smokes, some surprise might lie in wait, and the obscurity leave us at a loss how to act. We determined therefore to stop until morning.[26]

Had the Spaniards landed that evening, they might have met peaceful Indians, such as befriended De Vaca and his fellow survivors a few days later. From these they could have obtained more information regarding the "broad river," and thence established communication with Mexico where by this time the work of colonization was already under way. As it was, the bewildered and famished explorers decided to spend the night in their boats and, as De Vaca writes, "when day came, the boats had lost sight of each other." Three of them, in command of Narváez, De Vaca, and Tellez, succeeded in reuniting the following afternoon. They continued westward for four days when another violent storm separated them.[27] The two commanded by Narváez and Tellez were never heard of again, while the third in charge of De Vaca was finally swept ashore, November 6, on an island near Matagorda Bay.[28] Here they found Dorantes and his crew, their boat having been wrecked near the same island shortly before.[29] Though the Indians proved friendly and sought to alleviate the sufferings of the white strangers, hunger and disease thinned the number of the survivors more and more, so that in the end only four were able to accompany the natives to the mainland. These four survivors of the Narváez expedition were the Spaniards

[26] Hodge, Frederick Webb, *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 41-42.

[27] On the one, in command of Narváez, was the Franciscan Juan Juarez. If the other four friars were with their Superior, as is most probable, they also were drowned in the Gulf of Mexico somewhere between the mouth of the Mississippi and Matagorda Bay.

[28] As to the locality of this island, Hodge is inclined to think with Baskett that it is "the so-called Velasco Island, next south of Galveston Island." See *Spanish Exploers*, p. 57, note 2.

[29] The "clerigo" (clergyman), referred to as being of this party, was probably one of the secular priests who had accompanied the Narváez expedition. Oviedo (I, *loc. cit.*) writes: "And this Andres Dorantes says that he saw in that rancho the garb of one of them, which was of the *clerigo*, and with it a breviary and diurnal." The term "clerigo" was used by the Spaniards to designate a secular priest, while that of "fraile" denoted a Franciscan, Dominican, or Augustinian friar.

Cabeza de Vaca, Castillo Maldonado, and Dorantes, and the Moor Estevan.[30] Eight years later they reached the western confines of Mexico and from there the capital of New Spain, where they arrived in July, 1536.

During the years that De Vaca spent with the Indians of eastern Texas and Louisiana, at first as their slave and later as trader and medicine man, he traversed the regions bordering on the Mississippi River. How far the Indians among whom he lived were wont to penetrate northward may be gathered from the fact that in 1541 Coronado on his way to Quivira met Indians at the Red River in Texas who expected that he and his men "would bless them as Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had done when they passed through here." [31] If, as Hodge contends, "there is no question that he [De Vaca] must have been in this vicinity," [32] then we may conclude also that he gained more detailed information regarding the "broad river" and perhaps even stood on its banks. How much of this information he eventually imparted to Viceroy Mendoza of Mexico is not known. But from the records, as we shall see, it is evident that the viceroy was intensely interested in what he heard and immediately saw the importance of further exploration and eventual colonization in the northern interior.

De Vaca reached Spain on August 9, 1537, intending to apply to the king for a grant to conquer and explore Florida. But to his disappointment he learned that in the preceding April the king had assigned the governorship of Cuba to Hernando de Soto and given him authority to undertake the conquest and colonization of Florida.[33] At this De Vaca not only refused to accompany De Soto but also declared that, because he and Dorantes "had

[30] Winship (p. 348, note 2) points out that "some writers have been misled by a chance comma inserted by the copyist or printer in one of the old narratives, which divides the name Maldonado—Alonzo del Castillo, Maldonado—making it appear as if there were five instead of four survivors of the Narváez expedition who made their way to Mexico."

[31] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 332.

[32] *Ibid*, p. 97, note 2.

[33] The contract is dated April 20, 1537. Like that drawn up for Narváez eleven years before, it empowered De Soto "to conquer and colonize the province of the Rio de las Palmas up to Florida." See Pacheco y Cardenas, XXII, 534-546.

sworn not to divulge certain things which they had seen," he was not at liberty to tell anything beyond the fact that Florida "was the richest country in the world." De Soto had anticipated him in obtaining that "for which he [De Vaca] had come to Spain."[34] Others, he advised, would do well to take part in the expedition; he himself, however, would seek his fortune elsewhere.[35]

It was not until May 18, 1539, that De Soto and his army sailed in nine vessels from Santiago de Cuba and a week later sighted the shores of what is now Tampa Bay.[36] The army, com-

[34] *The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto, by the Gentleman of Elvas*, p. 136. This narrative, the main source of information for the De Soto expedition, was published at Evora, Portugal, in 1557. We quote the English translation, critically edited by Theodore H. Lewis and published in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States—Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1907), pp. 126-272.

[35] Three years later De Vaca contracted with the Spanish government for the conquest and pacification of the La Plata province, now Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina. The contract is dated March 18, 1540. See Pacheco y Cardenas, XXIII, 8-33. On this expedition De Vaca was accompanied by two Franciscans who had already begun mission work on the coast of Brazil and who were now to extend their activity among the Indians to the La Plata region. For these enterprises see *Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca* in *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias* (Madrid, 1918, Vedia ed.), I, 549-599.

[36] Besides *The Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas*, already quoted, the main sources of information for the De Soto expedition are the following: (1) The *Relación* of Luis Fernandez de Biedma in Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 414-441 and in Buckingham-Smith, pp. 47-64. This *Relación* was drawn up by Biedma in 1544 for the king and the Council of the Indies. (2) The *Narrative* of Ranjel, in Oviedo, I, XVII, cap. xxi-xxviii. As the Gentleman of Elvas, also Biedma and Ranjel took part in the expedition, the former as official factor and the latter as De Soto's private secretary. (3) Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*. This was written in 1587 and published for the first time at Lisbon in 1605. A new edition, from which we quote, appeared in 1723. La Vega was an educated Inca, native of Peru. He wrote his work on Florida while residing in Spain and says (p. 264) that "in Peru I knew many of those gentlemen and soldiers" who had been with De Soto. Among these were a Spanish nobleman and the two soldiers Alonzo de Carmona and Juan Coles. The last named, La Vega tells us in the Preface to his work, wrote a short account of the expedition at the instance of Father Pedro Aguado, Minister Privincial of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Faith, erected in Peru in 1565.

prising six hundred soldiers, was accompanied by eight secular priests and four friars.[37] The day on which they sighted Florida was Pentecost Sunday; wherefore the bay was named La Bahia del Espíritu Santo. On May 30 a landing was effected near the present Charlotte Harbor and formal possession taken of the territory. Marching northward, De Soto halted at Ucita, an Indian village, and sent out two exploring parties.[38] The one in command of Baltasar de Gallegos returned with the news that at Cale, a province to the north, there was much gold. Stationing a detachment of the army at Tampa Bay, De Soto set out with the main army for Cale. At Tampa Bay he left enough provisions to last for two years, evidently expecting to return from Cale within that time and begin the work of colonization.

On August 1 the main army struck out for the interior and after a few days reached the deserted town of Cale, where they tarried till August 11. Thence they continued northward and on October 25 arrived at Uzela, probably the modern Chattahuchi, in the province of Apalache. Deciding to erect winter quarters at this place, De Soto sent a detachment of cavalry back to Tampa Bay. He instructed Añasco, the commander, to have two of the vessels return to Cuba and to bring up to Uzela the remaining six, together with the supply boat and the soldiers previously left at Tampa Bay. In this way, on December 28, the forces of De Soto were reunited many miles north of their first landing place. According to the Gentleman of Elvas, it was from here that De Soto sent the vessels to Cuba to get provisions. Mal-

[37] The names of four secular priests are known; *viz.*, Rodrigo de Gallegos, Diego de Bañuelos, Francisco de Poco, and Dionisio de Paris. The first three were Spaniards, the last a Frenchman. Two of the four friars were Dominicans, Luis de Soto and Juan de Gallegos. The former was a kinsman of the leader of the expedition; while the latter was a kinsman of Rodrigo de Gallegos, the secular priest, and a brother of Baltasar de Gallegos, chief castellan of the expedition. The two other friars were the Franciscan Juan Torres and the Trinitarian Francisco de la Rocha. See *La Florida del Inca*, p. 8-9.

[38] The one in command of Lobillo found Juan Ortiz, a survivor of the Narváez expedition. The story of his rescue from death through the intervention of the Indian chief's daughter antedates by some seventy years the remarkably similar story of John Smith's rescue through Pocahontas. See Bourne, p. 163.

donado, in command of the fleet, was told to return with the provisions and to meet the army at the bay which he had previously discovered some sixty leagues west of Uzela, in the province of Ochus. Should he not find the army there, he was to sail back to Cuba and remain there till the following summer. Only then was he to return to the bay and wait for the army. At this point, however, the narrative of Biedma differs from that of the Gentleman of Elvas. He tells us that Maldonado had instructions to return to Cuba and, "if within six months he had no news of us, he was to come in those brigantines and sail along the coast as far as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, because there we would have to come back for repairs." [39]

With the approach of spring, De Soto and his men again departed for the interior. "This was the beginning," writes Bolton, "of three years of restless wandering, in the course of which De Soto and his men traversed Florida, Georgia, Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas." [40] In April, 1540, they arrived at Cufitatchiqui, near the present Silverbluff, in South Carolina, on the west side of the Savannah River. Here they were well received by the Indians and therefore they earnestly entreated their leader to found a settlement.[41] But De Soto had other plans. A march of twelve days, he was informed, would bring him to "a province called

[39] Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 418. From the charts of the time De Soto certainly knew of this river so named by Garay, but he thought it farther east than it actually was.

[40] Bolton, Herbert E., *The Spanish Borderlands* in *Chronicles of America* Series (New Haven, 1921), p. 51.

[41] It might be noted here that during the fortnight (from April 26 to May 13, 1540) spent at Cufitatchiqui, the Indian youth who had been serving as guide since the preceding September "wished to become a Christian, and asked to be baptized." During the sojourn of the army near Apalache Bay, from the end of October, 1539, to March 3, 1540, one of the friars doubtless found time and opportunity to instruct this youth in the Christian faith. His request could therefore be granted. He was baptized and given the name of Pedro. This is the first Indian baptism conferred within the present limits of the United States, of which there is record. The Indian Pedro remained faithful and was still with the Spaniards three years later when, after De Soto's death, they set out for Mexico.

Chiaha, subject to a chief of Coça." Thither he resolved to go and, as the Gentleman of Elvas writes, "being an inflexible man, and dry of word, who, although he liked to know what the others all thought and had to say, after he once said a thing he did not like to be opposed, and as he ever acted as he thought best, all bent to his will."[42]

Our present purpose does not call for a detailed account of that wearisome and perilous march to the west. It is interesting to note, however, that in the fall of 1540, while at Mavilla [Mobile], De Soto learned of Maldonado's arrival at the bay. But he kept the information from his followers, fearing a general revolt if he refused to proceed toward the gulf, as his men would surely have demanded. Not to frustrate the purpose of the expedition, "he caused Juan Ortiz to keep the news secret."[43] After nine months of intense suffering and stirring adventure, the army, now reduced to five hundred men, on December 17, 1540, arrived at Chicaça, an Indian village "about one mile northwest of Redland, in Pontococ County, Mississippi."[44] Here they passed a dreary winter, undergoing great hardship from lack of food and clothing. Biedma informs us that during the winter expeditions were sent out in search of the South Sea. Apparently, believing himself near De Vaca's great river, De Soto figured that this might lead to the reputed North Sea,[45] whence it would be possible to get to the South Sea. "We were in this town," writes Biedma, "in order to see whether we could find a route toward the North Sea for the purpose of crossing over to the South Sea, twenty-seven or twenty-eight days; from here some expeditions were made in order to capture Indians who might give us information; especially one was made, toward the northwest, where they said there were great settlements, through which we could go."[46]

[42] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 175.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 193. See also Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 427.

[44] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 195, note 2.

[45] The Maiollo map of 1527 and the Verrazano map of 1529 designate as an immense body of water what is in fact land, namely the present Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes region. With many of his day De Soto believed in this supposed Sea of Verrazano, as it was styled. See Winsor, Justin, *Cartier to Frontenac* (Boston and New York, 1894), p. 17.

[46] Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 434. The Gentleman of Elvas erroneously

On April 25, 1541, the army left the winter quarters at Chicaça and during the first week in May reached the province of Quizquiz which bordered on the Mississippi River. At this point the Gentleman of Elvas writes:

> He arrived at a town of Quizquiz without being descried, and seized all the people before they could come out of their houses. Among them was the mother of the cacique; and the Governor [De Soto] sent word to him, by one of the captains, to come and receive her, with the rest he had taken.[47] The answer he returned was, that if his lordship would order them to be loosed and sent, he would come to visit and do him service.
>
> The Governor, since his men arrived weary, and likewise weak, for want of maize, and the horses were also lean, determined to yield to the requirement and try to have peace; so the mother and the rest were ordered to be set free, and with words of kindness were dismissed. The next day, while he was hoping to see the chief, many Indians came, with bows and arrows, to set upon the Christians, when he commanded that all the armed horsemen should be mounted and in readiness. Finding them prepared, the Indians stopped at the distance of a crossbow-shot from where the Governor was, near a river-bank,[48] where, after remaining quietly half an hour, six chiefs arrived at the camp, stating that they had come to find out what people it might be; for that they had knowledge from their ancestors that they were to be subdued by a white race; they consequently desired to return to the cacique, to tell him that he should come presently to obey and serve the Governor. After presenting six or seven skins and shawls brought with them, they took their leave, and returned with the others who were waiting for them by the shore. The cacique came not, nor sent another message.
>
> There was little maize in the place, and the Governor moved to another town, half a league from the great river,[49] where it was found in sufficiency. He went to look at the river, and saw that near it there was much timber of which piraguas might be made, and a good situation in which the

puts this last expedition on the west side of the Mississippi. Lewis corrects the mistake, noting that "it was from Chicaça that the expedition was sent." See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 212.

[47] From Biedma's narrative it would seem that the men were absent, probably at work in the cornfields. See Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 430.

[48] Possibly the Yazoo River.

[49] The Mississippi, as Lewis notes in *Spanish Explorers*, p. 202.

> camp might be placed. He directly moved, built houses, and settled on a plain a crossbow-shot from the water, bringing together all the maize of the towns behind, that at once they might go to work and cut down trees for sawing out planks to build barges.[50]

From the Biedma narrative we gather the following additional details of what transpired on the banks of the Mississippi:

> The town was near the Rio del Espíritu Santo. They told us that this and the other towns which were there paid tribute to a chief of Pacaha, who was famous in the entire land. As they knew that we had captured those women, they came peacefully to our people and requested the Governor that they be returned; the Governor returned them and asked that they give us some boats in order to cross that great river; they said they would give them to us, but they never did it; rather they united to make war upon us and came in sight of the town where we were, but in the end did not venture to attack us on returning. We left that town and went to lodge on the bank of the river in order to give directions how we should have to cross it. We saw that there was on the other side a great multitude of people to prevent our passage and they had many canoes. We resolved to construct four large barges, each of which would carry sixty or seventy men and five or six horses. We spent twenty-seven or twenty-eight days constructing these barges. During this time, every day at three o'clock after midday, the Indians entered the 250 canoes which they had there, very great and with very large waist-clothes, and came near to the bank where we were. With very great outcry they discharged at us all the arrows they could and returned to the other bank. When they saw that we now had our barges in a condition to cross over, they all fled and allowed us free passage.[51]

By the beginning of June the four barges were ready for use. Then one morning, between two and seven o'clock, these could be seen plying forth and back across the mighty river; and, to quote the Elvas narrative, "by the time the sun was two hours high, the people had all got over. The distance was near half a league; a man standing on the shore could not be told whether he was a

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203. The Spaniards were now "some twenty-five to thirty-eight miles below Memphis," according to Lewis. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[51] Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 430-431.

man or something else, from the other side. The stream was swift, and very deep [52]; the water always flowing turbidly, brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force. There were many fish of several sorts, the greater part different from those of the fresh waters of Spain." [53]

Having reached the shore of what is now the state of Arkansas, somewhere at the southeastern extremity of St. Francis County, De Soto and his army set out on an extended tour of exploration. Penetrating northward, they arrived at Casqui and thence at Pacaha. They failed to find the promised gold; but attempts were made, as Biedma says, to find "a route for the purpose of being able to cross over to the other sea." Again, at Quiguate they stayed "eight or nine days, in order to find interpreters and guides, still deliberating whether we would be able to cross to the other sea, since the Indians told us that seven days thence there was a province where they killed some cows,[54] and that from there we would have interpreters in order to pass to the other sea." [55] From Pacaha the expedition turned south, passed over the St. Francis River, came to what is now the northern part of Lee County, Arkansas, and thence continued westward, crossing the Little Red and the White rivers and finally reaching the Neosho River, in northeastern Oklahoma. From there they turned southeast, forded the Arkansas River some thirty miles east of Fort Smith, and erected winter quarters in an Indian town called Autiamque. Here they remained till the advent of spring, when De Soto decided to return to the great river and, with the provisions he hoped to get from Cuba, to begin the work of colonization. According to the Gentleman of Elvas, it was on Monday, March 6, 1642, that "the Governor set out from Autiamque to seek Nilko, which the Indians said was nigh the River Grande, with the purpose of going to the sea, to recruit his forces. He had not over three hundred efficient men, nor more than forty horses." [56] The same is attested by Biedma who relates that "here the Governor was now determined, if he could find the

[52] Biedma says that the river "was almost a league in width and nineteen or twenty fathoms deep." See Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 431.

[53] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 204.

[54] The great buffalo plains.

[55] Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 434.

[56] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 224.

sea,[57] to construct brigantines in order to send a message to Cuba . . . that they might provide us with some horses and the necessary things of which we stood in need." [58]

Twice on this return march, the army crossed the Arkansas River and finally, on April 16, 1542, arrived at Guachoya, an Indian town on the south bank of the Arkansas, near its confluence with the Mississippi. From the Indians it was learned that other tribes farther south could tell how far it was to the sea. Accordingly, as both the Gentleman of Elvas and Biedma relate, a troop of cavalry were sent southward along the river bank. But after some days they returned with the report that to reach the gulf overland was impossible "on account of the great bogs that came out of the river, the canebrakes and thick scrubs there were along the margin." [59] Clearly, De Soto was bent on realizing at least the other purpose of his expedition—colonization. He had not found a waterway to the South Sea, but with reinforcements from Cuba he would now found a colony and later resume his quest for the western passage. He did not anticipate what so soon would frustrate the project of colonization.

When it became known that an overland journey to the gulf was impossible, discouragement and alarm seized his men whom hunger, exposure, disease, and Indian hostility had by this time reduced to about half their original number. The report seems to have broken even the dauntless spirit of De Soto. For three years he had shared with his army every suffering and privation; and now, finding himself unable to rescue the three hundred survivors from further hardship and from probable death in the wild and desolate land, the gallant leader sincerely deplored the sacrifices he had exacted of friends and countrymen in order to satisfy his own ambition. Deep melancholy weighed down his soul and, shortly after they reached Guachoya, he was attacked by a severe fever. La Vega tells us that on the third day the fever became alarming. "The Governor," he writes, "seeing its excessive increase, understood that his illness was unto death; and so he

[57] Namely, the Gulf of Mexico by means of the great river.
[58] Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 437.
[59] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 229; also Pecheco y Cardenas, III, 437.

immediately prepared himself for it. Like a Catholic Christian, he made his last will more or less briefly, since he had not a sufficient supply of paper, and with sorrow and compunction for having offended God he confessed his sins." [60] To those who survived him "he entrusted the conversion of the natives to the Catholic Faith and the increase of the Spanish crown, saying that for him death was intercepting the fulfilment of these wishes. He entreated them very earnestly to preserve harmony and love among themselves." [61]

Hope of recovery dwindled rapidly and on the seventh day of his illness De Soto felt that his hour had come. One more important provision he had to make. The Gentleman of Elvas relates:

> The Governor conscious that the hour approached in which he should depart this life, commanded that all the King's officers should be called before him, the captains and the principal personages, to whom he made a speech. He said that he was about to go into the presence of God, to give an account of all his past life; and since He had been pleased to take him away at such a time, and when he could recognize the moment of his death, he, His most unworthy servant, rendered Him hearty thanks. He confessed his deep obligations to them all, whether present or absent, for their great qualities, their love and loyalty to his person, well tried in the suffrance of hardship, which he ever wished to honor, and had designed to reward, when the Almighty should be pleased to give him repose from labor with great prosperity to his fortune. He begged that they would pray for him, that through mercy he might be pardoned his sins, and his soul received in glory; he asked that they would relieve him of the charge he held over them, as well of the indebtedness he was under to them all, as to forgive him any wrongs they might have received at his hands. To prevent any divisions that might arise, as to who should command, he asked that they would be pleased to elect a principal and able person to be governor, one with whom they should all be satisfied,

[60] Neither the Gentleman of Elvas nor Biedma mentions this. But the facts that priests were still with the army and that La Vega obtained his information from eye-witnesses are sufficient guarantee for the correctness of the statement.

[61] *La Florida del Inca*, p. 207.

> and, being chosen, they would swear before him to obey: that this would greatly satisfy him, abate somewhat the pains he suffered, and moderate the anxiety of leaving them in a country, they knew not where. . . . Baltasar de Gallegos responded in behalf of all . . . that as respected the election of a governor, which he ordered, whomsoever his Excellency should name to command, him would they obey. Thereupon the Governor nominated Luys Moscoso de Alvarado to be his captain-general; when by all those present was he straightway chosen and sworn Governor.[62]

This precaution, upon which the safety and ultimate rescue of the survivors depended, was not made too soon. On the following day, surrounded by his followers, De Soto breathed his last. He was, to quote Lowery, "one of the most indomitable spirits of the age, a leader whose stern resolve and masterly generalship would, but for his adverse fortune, have entitled him to rank with Cortés and Pizarro as having opened in the New World a pathway for the progress of his nation."[63] If, as the Gentleman of Elvas says, the day of his death was Sunday, May 21, 1542,[64] then exactly three years had elapsed since his stately fleet of nine vessels hoisted sail in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. For three days the corpse was concealed in a hut and then taken at night and buried near the gate of the town. This secrecy was observed because the Indians had all along regarded De Soto as an immortal descendant of the sun-god. It was, therefore, important that the fact of his having died be kept from them. But "the Indians, who had seen him ill," says the Elvas narrative, "finding him no longer, suspected the reason; and passing by where he lay, they observed the ground loose, and, looking about, talked among themselves. This coming to the notice of Luys de Moscoso, he ordered the corpse to be taken up at night, and among shawls that enshrouded it having cast abundance of sand, it was taken out in a canoe and committed to the middle of the stream."[65] The Indian chief, however,

[62] *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 232-233.

[63] Lowery, p. 244.

[64] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 233. According to La Vega (*La Florida del Inca*, p. 207), De Soto died in the latter part of June. From the same writer (p. 208) we learn that he was then in his forty-second year.

[65] We may readily presume that the Dominican Luis de Soto said the last prayers over the corpse of his distinguished kinsman.

was aware of what had happened; wherefore he came to Moscoso with two young Indians and offered to have them killed that they might "attend his friend and master." To this Moscoso objected, saying "that the Governor was not dead, but only gone into the heavens, having taken with him of his soldiers sufficient number for his need, and he besought him to let those Indians go, and from that time forward not to follow so evil a practice." The chief obeyed and the two Indians were set free.[66]

Hoping to reach Mexico overland, Moscoso and the army left Guachoya on June 5, 1542, and struck out in a southwesterly direction. In October they came probably to the Brazos River in Young County, Texas. But sorely pressed by hunger, repeatedly misled by the Indian guides, and constantly harrassed by warlike tribes, they turned back and in December were once more near the banks of the Mississippi, this time on the northshore of the Arkansas, opposite Guachoya. Here it was decided to attempt a voyage down the great river and in this way get back to Mexico.[67] With the aid of friendly Indians, seven brigantines were constructed. In these, on July 2, 1543, the three hundred and twenty survivors began their perilous and thrilling voyage to the Gulf of Mexico. Feigning friendship, the Indians along the river bank would approach the Spaniards in canoes and then, seeing their helpless condition, attack the white intruders with all the fury of their savage nature. One incident is of special interest. It was presumably at the present Vicksburg Bluffs that the Spaniards

[66] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 234.

[67] A fact worth mentioning here is the following: The Gentleman of Elvas relates that when Moscoso was about to depart for Mexico, he directed that the Indian servants be left behind; that many of the Spaniards, however, thought it inhuman to abandon "five hundred males and females, among whom there were many boys and girls who understood and spoke Spanish;" and that "the most of them wept, which caused great compassion, as they were all Christians of their own free will, and were now to remain lost." See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 254. Their being "Christians of their own free will" can mean only that they had been instructed in Christianity, had promised to embrace it, and were now already observing voluntarily the Christian precepts, especially regarding morality. But since there was no certainty that a mission would be founded, the missionaries wisely deferred their baptism.

effected a landing. The Indians proved hostile, but the Spaniards finally put them to flight, burned their town, and then re-embarked.

> The next day a hundred canoes came together, having from sixty to seventy persons in them, those of the principal men having awnings, and themselves wearing white and colored plumes, for distinction. They came within two crossbow-shot of the brigantines, and sent a message in a small canoe, by three Indians, to the intent of learning the character of the vessels, and the weapons that we use. Arriving at the brigantine of the Governor [Moscoso], one of the messengers got in, and said that he had been sent by the cacique of Quigaltam, their lord, to commend him, and to make known that whatever the Indians of Guachoya had spoken of him was falsely said, they being his enemies; that the chief was his servant, and wished to be so considered. The Governor told him that he believed all that he had stated to be true; to say so to him, and that he greatly esteemed him for his friendship.
>
> With this the messengers went to where the others, in the canoes, were waiting for them; and thence they all came down yelling, and approached the Spaniards with threats. The Governor sent Juan de Guzman, captain of foot, in the canoes, with twenty-five men in armor, to drive them out of the way. So soon as they were seen coming, the Indians, formed in two parts, remained quietly until they were come up with them, when, closing, they took Juan de Guzman, and those who came ahead with him, in their midst, and, with great fury, closed hand to hand with them. Their canoes were larger than his, and many leaped into the water—some to support them, others to lay hold of the canoes of the Spaniards, to cause them to capsize, which was presently accomplished, the Christians falling into the water; and, by the weight of their armor, going to the bottom; or when one by swimming, or clinging to a canoe, could sustain himself, they with paddles and clubs, striking him on the head, would send him below.[68]

At last, after seventeen days of constant peril and excitement, the survivors sighted the Gulf of Mexico. Like Pineda fourteen years before, they coasted along the gulf shore, westward and southward, and fifty-four days later, on September 10, 1543, reached the mouth of the Pánuco River. Moscoso and a number of the survivors eventually arrived in the capital of New Spain,

[68] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 256.

while others settled down in the newly established colonies of Mexico or set out in search of new adventures.[69] If the failure of this expedition filled Viceroy Mendoza with dismay, there was reason for it. Only some ten months before, as we shall see, Coronado had returned from his ill-fated expedition to New Mexico. Before relating this unsuccessful attempt to solve the northern mystery, a brief comment on the real purpose of the De Soto expedition is in place.

It is clear from De Soto's contract with the Spanish king that the primary object of his enterprise was the colonization of Florida. After De Vaca's arrival in Spain, however, this project became of secondary importance. What now, as a result of De Vaca's report, interested the government more than colonization was the problem of the northern mystery. To this De Soto was to give his first attention, though without losing sight of the original project. De Vaca and Dorantes, while still in Mexico, "had sworn not to divulge certain things they had seen;" and later De Vaca himself, in Spain, told two kinsmen of his, who had decided to accompany De Soto, that "on account of his oath, he could not divulge what they desired to know." Nevertheless, he subsequently gave the king "an account of all that he had gone through with, seen, and could by any means ascertain."[70] That in this account to the

[69] It has already been noted that the author of *La Florida del Inca* met many of these survivors in Peru. It is known also that three of their number served as captains in the De Luna expedition to Florida in 1559. (See Lowery, p. 358; Bolton-Marshall, p. 61.) What became of the eight secular priests and four friars who accompanied the De Soto expedition we learn from La Vega. Four of the secular priests died "the first year that they entered Florida." Two secular priests and the Trinitarian friar "died of disease during the lifetime of the Governor Hernando de Soto." The remaining two secular priests, the two Dominicans, and the one Franciscan succumbed to hardships during the attempted overland journey after De Soto's death or later during the voyage down the Mississippi River to Mexico. (See *La Florida del Inca*, p. 267.) It is interesting to note on the authority of La Vega that many of the survivors entered religious orders. One in particular is mentioned, Gonzalo Quadrato Xaramillo, who joined the Franciscan Order (*Ibid.*, pp. 263-264). Quadrato was doubtless the name by which this former soldier and now Franciscan lay-Brother was known in religion.

[70] *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 136-137.

king De Vaca maintained secrecy regarding the great river in the northern regions, that in turn the king let De Soto depart for Florida without confiding to him De Vaca's report and giving him additional instructions in line with this report—these suppositions appear untenable, considering the New World policy of the Spanish government at the time as also De Soto's line of action in Florida later on.

Spain was already finding it expedient to observe secrecy concerning her New World discoveries and explorations; wherefore it is easy to understand why such additional instructions to De Soto were not committed to writing, but were imparted to him orally and confidentially. For interviews between the king, De Soto, and the government officials there was ample time. Not until nine months after De Vaca's arrival in Spain did De Soto sail for Cuba, and another twelve months elapsed before he left Cuba for Florida. Moveover, the matter itself was of sufficient importance to call for immediate and special attention. De Vaca's was the second report to reach Spain concerning the great river that came from the north and emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. Cartographers were giving the river considerable prominence on their charts. Before long France and England, apprized of the river's existence, would go in search of it and, finding it, would occupy its southern banks, thereby not only dividing Spain's claim to the northern gulf coasts but also endangering her colonial projects in Mexico. Such possible enterprises by rival nations must be averted at all costs; and the first step in that direction was, even before the occupation of Florida by colonization, accurate knowledge as to whether the great river offered passage either to the Atlantic or to the Pacific. Despite the voyage of Gómez in 1525, doubt still existed whether perhaps on the Atlantic coast there was a river that might be, or might connect with, the one referred to by Pineda and De Vaca. Regarding the North-Pacific coast, Spain had no knowledge whatever, since it was not until four years later that Cabrillo and Ferrelo explored it. To solve this highly important problem was therefore the primary object that brought De Soto to Florida and urged him westward into the untrodden wastes of North America.

This conclusion is further justified by the manner in which De

Soto conducted the enterprise. At Tampa Bay, while his men were seeking a place for the colony they expected would be planted, De Soto made enquiries in another direction and learned "that towards the sunset was a province called Cale, the inhabitants of which were at war with those of territories where the greater portion of the year was summer, and where there was so much gold, that when the people came to make war upon those of Cale, they wore golden hats like casques."[71] That De Soto and his fellow officers believed these Indian stories about gold and silver and for that reason penetrated westward, is incredible. They may have been looking for riches; but it was such riches as were supposed to be abundant in Cathai. Now, Cale might be Cathai and De Soto set out to find it. He came to Cale, but neither gold nor silver was there. Perhaps Cathai was "the territories where the greater portion of the year was summer" and where the warriors "wore golden hats like casques." Or, De Vaca's great river might be an opening to Cathai. Accordingly, the army left Cale and proceeded westward. During the long march that now began, they heard of or came to towns and provinces with such suggestive names as Caliquen, Ochus, Coça, Tali, Toasi, Saquechuma, Chicaça, and Quizquiz. Finally they reached De Vaca's great river.

De Soto and his officers certainly knew of this river and, like Biedma in his later report, identified it with the Rio del Espíritu Santo. What appears very strange is the fact that at this point the Elvas narrative, otherwise so detailed, has comparatively little to say. It states merely that "the Governor moved to another town, half a league from the great river" and that from here "he went to look at the river."[72] Its width and swift current did not surprise him; of this he was already informed. What alone concerned him was to cross over to the opposite shore and continue his search for a waterway to the South Sea.

Early in June, 1541, they crossed the river and reached Pacaha, where they heard of another rich province farther north. It was called Casqui—a name which, like Cale and others east of the great river, might be a corruption of Cathai. At Pacaha they heard of

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

Quiguate, farther to the south. Perhaps this was the local Indian name for Quinsai, the supposedly rich city in Cathai. They went to seek Quiguate and it proved to be "the largest seen in Florida."[73] This circumstance encouraged the explorers, together with another report that now reached their ears. To quote Lowery, "Lured by the report of a great water and a country called Autiamque to the southeast, fruitful in maize, De Soto determined to reach it and winter there. He thought the water might be some arm of the sea from whence he could send news to Cuba for supplies and men to recruit his depleted ranks. . . . With these he could again turn westward to the regions through which Cabeza de Vaca had wandered."[74] Evidently, De Soto was not thinking of abandoning the project entrusted to him. On the contrary, in the hope of discovering a water route to the South Sea, he contemplated the establishment of a colony and eventual communication with Mexico over "the regions through which Cabeza de Vaca had wandered." Thus he would not only fix Spain's claim to Florida by actual occupation but at the same time secure for his nation the advantage and for himself the distinction of having solved the problem of the northern mystery. The accounts of his expedition make it plain that from the day on which he hoisted sail at Santiago de Cuba to the moment when he placed Moscoso in command of the army, the intrepid leader clearly understood and persistently kept in view the twofold purpose of the enterprise. A Spanish colony with an Indian mission would have been founded either at Autiamque or at Guachoya and thereupon the problem of the northern mystery again taken up, if death had not robbed the explorers of their unflinching leader.

Even greater than in Spain was the sensation which the report of De Vaca created in the government circles as well as among the people of Mexico. Viceroy Mendoza was particularly interested. After the unsuccessful attempt of De Vaca and Dorantes to sail for Spain,[75] he interviewed them at the capital of Mexico

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 214. The Gentleman of Elvas (*loc. cit.*) calls it Quiguate and Aquiguate, while Biedma (Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 434) has only Quigate.

[74] Lowery, p. 242.

[75] They arrived in Mexico in July, 1536, and already the following October they were at Vera Cruz, ready to board a vessel for Spain. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 121.

and under date of February 11, 1537, addressed a letter to the emperor, saying that De Vaca and Dorantes were coming to Spain with an account of the expedition as they had related it to him and recommending them to the king for past and future services.[76] A few weeks later they set out for Vera Cruz. But Dorantes never sailed for Spain because the vessel which he had boarded, after sailing one hundred and fifty leagues, began to leak so badly that it had to return to port.[77] Mendoza doubtless heard of this and sent for Dorantes. The emperor could engage De Vaca; he, the viceroy, would employ Dorantes and in this manner co-operate with the emperor toward one and the same goal. To all appearances, Dorantes was as interested and enthusiastic concerning the viceroy's project for a new expedition as the viceroy himself. On December 10, 1537, Mendoza addressed another letter to the emperor, from which it is certain that he had negotiated with Dorantes and that the latter had given his consent. "Seeing my will," Mendoza wrote, "and the service which, as I represented to him, would result therefrom for God and for your Majesty, he replied that he delighted in it, and so I am determined to send him with a troop of cavalry and the religious of whom I speak."[78] But nothing came of this particular project. Bandelier thinks that apparently Dorantes "got under way, but never achieved anything," political and financial reasons compelling Mendoza to relinquish the plan for one which had meanwhile been proposed to him.[79]

Why the story of De Vaca and Dorantes had interested the Franciscans in particular is readily explained. Five of their confrères and two of these personal friends of their Provincial[80] Superior had accompanied Narváez and lost their lives in the expedition. This accounts also for the fact that especially one

[76] Pacheco y Cardenas, XIV, 235-236.

[77] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 121.

[78] Pacheco y Cardenas, II, 206-207.

[79] Bandelier, A. F., *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States* in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Amer. Ser., V (Cambridge, 1890), p. 77.

[80] Like Juan Juarez and Juan Palos, the Minister Provincial Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo belonged to the so-called "Twelve Apostles of Mexico."

of the Franciscans, Marcos de Niza, took a lively interest in the matter. He held the office of Vice-Commissary of the Indies and had already taken part in expeditions, even as far as Peru. News of the great river in the north may have revived interest in the Seven Cities supposed to exist there. To search for these fabled cities and to gain the allegiance of their inhabitants in a peaceful way was doubtless the plan of Marcos de Niza, who proposed it to the viceroy and, at the latter's request, agreed to undertake the expedition. Accordingly, before informing the recently appointed governor of Nueva Galicia, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, that he was eventually to lead an army into the northern interior, Mendoza drew up a set of instructions for Marcos de Niza, who was then residing at Tonala, a settlement in Nueva Galicia.[81]

Accompanied by the Moor Estévan, one of the survivors of the Narváez expedition, and by a number of Indian guides, Marcos de Niza left Culiacán on March 7, 1539. Early in June, about the same time that De Soto and his army were leaving Tampa Bay for the interior of Florida, the friar and his companions were within sight of the Seven Cities on the western confines of what is now the state of New Mexico. Having erected a cross on an elevation near the present town of Zuñi, Marcos de Niza took formal possession of the region for the Spanish crown and named it the New Kingdom of St. Francis. Then he hastened back to the city of Mexico and prepared his official report for the Minister Provincial. The Provincial in turn presented this report to the viceroy,[82] who then communicated with Coronado. The Seven

[81] The friar received and signed the instructions November 20, 1538; whereupon he sent them to the Minister Provincial who affixed his endorsement on August 26, 1539, and returned them to Viceroy Mendoza. The viceroy's further remarks and signature were added a week later, on September 2. See Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 325-351. According to the New Style, the dates would be November 30, September 5, and September 12.

[82] The report, dated September 2, 1539, is in Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 325-351. An English translation by Rev. Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., appeared in the *Franciscan Herald* (Chicago), V (1918), 281-283, 314-318, 353-358, 398-401. For a critical study of Marcos de Niza's expedition see Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 106-178.

Cities, the friar had learned, were called Cíbola by the natives. Before long, this name was on every tongue in Mexico and the story of Cíbola's greatness and wealth gained in volume with every recital. Ignoring the pretensions of Cortés, but finally winning the co-operation of the less stubborn Alvarado,[83] Viceroy Mendoza prepared to carry out his project. He enlisted the services of the Franciscans as missionaries and discussed the material side of the enterprise with Coronado who had accompanied Marcos de Niza to the city of Mexico. Compostela, a town in western Mexico, was selected as the place of departure. Thither Coronado proceeded without delay, in order to muster an army and gather the necessary provisions. In February, 1540, the viceroy arrived, reviewed the army, and gave final instructions to the military leader. Meanwhile Marcos de Niza had been elected Minister Provincial.[84] In this capacity he approved the agreement made by his predecessor to have a number of Franciscans accompany the expedition.

It was probably on February 28, 1540, that Coronado and the army left Compostela.[85] With the two hundred and sixty horsemen and sixty footsoldiers were five Franciscans[86] and their

[83] See the *Asiento y capitulacion* drawn up between Mendoza and Alvarado on November 29, 1540, in Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 351-362.

[84] Their province in Mexico, under the title of the Holy Gospel, was officially established in 1536.

[85] The sources of information used for this expedition are the following: (1) *The Narrative of the Expedition of Coronado by Pedro de Castañeda.* The English translation from a Spanish MS. (written at Seville, 1596) with critical notes is the work of George Parker Winship. It was published first in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896), pp. 414-469, 470-546, and later in shorter form and with slight emendations by Frederick Webb Hodge in *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 275-387. (2) the narrative of Captain Juan Jaramillo in Pacheco y Cardenas, XIV, 304-317; Buckingham-Smith, pp. 154-163; and in Winship, pp. 583-593. (3) The *Relación Postrera de Sibola* in Winship, 566-571. (4) The *Relación del Suceso* in Buckingham-Smith, pp. 147-154, and in Winship, pp. 572-579. (5) *Traslado de Nuevas* in Pacheco y Cardenas, XIX, 529-532, and in Winship, pp. 564-565.

[86] These were the three priests Juan de Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Antonio Victoria, and the two lay-brothers Luis de Ubeda and Daniel. While the army was at Culiacán, Antonio Victoria broke his leg and therefore never reached New Mexico. Three of the remaining four, Juan de

Provincial, Marcos de Niza. About a thousand friendly Indians of Mexico went along, some to serve the officers and others to care for the supply train which consisted of over a thousand horses, a sufficient drove of mules to carry the cannon and ammunition, one hundred and fifty head of cattle, and a flock of sheep. On March 25 they reached Culiacán. Here Coronado selected about one hundred horse- and footmen, and with these, on April 22, proceeded northward, instructing Tristán de Arellano who commanded the remainder of the army, to follow after a lapse of two weeks with the supply train.

On July 7, Coronado and his select army, accompanied by Marcos de Niza and four friars, came to Hawikuh, now known as Zuñi. Here they found that what Marcos de Niza had heard and mistaken to be great cities were merely seven Indian villages, interesting enough, but neither great nor wealthy.[87] In August, Coronado sent a detachment of men under Gallego and Diaz to Mexico. The former was instructed to bring up the supply train, while the latter was first to penetrate westward in search of the sea. Marcos de Niza and Brother Daniel accompanied them, "the obvious reason" being, as Bandelier contends, "the feeble health of the friar" [Marcos de Niza], since "hardship and suffering had nearly paralyzed the body of the already aged man." [88]

Padilla, Juan de la Cruz, and Luis de Ubeda, were eventually murdered by the Indians in New Mexico. At Zuñi the lay-brother Daniel departed with Marcos de Niza for Mexico. See *Franciscan Herald* (Chicago), V (1918), 432-433.

[87] The charge that Marcos de Niza's report to the viceroy was a round of cunning exaggerations and pious frauds is no longer a mooted question among serious-minded historians. They all reject the charge. For a correct and scholarly evaluation of the friar's report it suffices to refer the reader to Bandelier's *Contributions* where it is conclusively shown that Marcos de Niza "has been strangely misrepresented, his actions mistold, his words misconstrued" (p. 106).

[88] *The American Catholic Quarterly Review* (Philadelphia), XV (1890), p. 551. Mendieta, Hieronimo De, O. F. M., the author of *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana* (written about 1598 and published for the first time in 1870), knew Marcos de Niza personally. He writes (p. 541) that Marcos de Niza was a "learned and religious man. . . . I found him, when I came from Spain, staying at Jalapa, infected or lamed in hands and feet—*gafo o tollido de pies y manos.*" Later in his life sketch of the friar,

While waiting for the supply train, Coronado sent two expeditions northward to Tusayan and the Hopi towns. The former, in command of Pedro de Tovar, returned toward the end of August and reported that they had found towns with better houses than those of Cíbola and had heard of a great river in the west. Without delay, the other expedition was sent northward, this time in charge of García López de Cardenas. Passing through the Hopi towns, they pushed on and came to what are now known as the Grand Cañon and the Colorado River. Eighty days passed before they returned. Hardly had they left Cíbola when Indians arrived and invited the Spaniards to their provinces of Cicuye, farther east. Coronado accepted the friendly invitation and sent Hernando de Alvarado ahead to prepare the way for the main army. Accompanied by the Franciscan Juan de Padilla, Alvarado and twenty soldiers left on September 8, arrived eventually at Tiguex, the present Bernalillo,[89] and thence continued eastward to the Indian village of Cicuye, now known as Pecos. Here an Indian, whom the Spaniards "called the Turk, because he looked like one,"[90] informed the strangers that he was a native of Hurall and that far to the east lay Quivira which had great cities and an abundance of gold and silver. Immediately Alvarado returned to Tiguex and sent a messenger to Coronado who was still at Zuñi.

Alvarado's message reached Coronado some time before Cardenas returned from the north and Arellano arrived with the supply train from Mexico. Sending Cardenas with a detachment eastward to prepare winter quarters in the province of Tiguex and directing Arellano to rest the supply train at Zuñi for twenty days, the leader himself with thirty men set out for the east. Apparently pursuing a more southerly route than Alvarado had

Mendieta wrote: "He returned [from Cibola] with no less hardship than he went, and there resulted for him from that long journey a serious ailment by which he was crippled until his death" (p. 674). From the *Menologio Franciscano* in *Teatro Mexicano* (written by Father Augustin Vetancurt, O. F. M., and published in Mexico in 1697) we learn that Marcos de Niza died in 1558.

[89] It was later known as Puaray. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 317, note 1.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

taken, Coronado finally came to Tiguex. Here he found the winter quarters prepared and the men burning with eagerness to tell him what they had found and heard concerning Quivira. What above all interested Coronado was the glowing account of the "Turk." He told the Spaniards that "in his country there was a river in the level country which was 2 leagues wide, in which there were many fishes as big as horses, and large numbers of very big canoes, with more than 20 rowers on a side, and that they carried sails, and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle. He said also that the lord of that country took his afternoon nap under a great tree on which there hung a great number of little gold bells, which put him to sleep as they swung in the air. He said also that everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought gold, and the jugs and bowls were of gold." [91] If Coronado and his officers really believed this wild tale, it would be hard to decide which was the more profound, their gullibility or the Indian's knavery. The fact is, Coronado was no more led astray by the "Turk's" story of gold than Ponce de León was lured to Florida by the hope of finding the reputed fountain of perpetual youth. As in the case of the De Soto expedition Coronado and his officers had something else in view and on that account were so eager to visit Quivira.

On April 23, 1541, Coronado and his main army set out from Tiguex and nine days later came to what is now called the Gallinas River, a branch of the Pecos, in San Miguel County, New Mexico. Here a band of Apaches told them of the great river farther east; wherefore they continued in that direction. Toward the end of May they encountered and made friends with another band of natives who called themselves Teyas. The Spaniards were now at the source of the Red River in western Texas. Here they learned from the Indians "that there was a very large river over toward where the sun came from" and "that the river was more than a league wide." [92] Though detachments of men

[91] Winship, p. 493.

[92] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 330. "This river," Hodge notes, "if it existed at all, was in all probability the lower Arkansas or the Mississippi, hundreds of miles away." *Ibid.*, p. 330, note 5.

were sent to explore the regions eastward, Coronado already gave credence to the report of Ysopete, another native of Quivira who was with the army, that he had been deceived by the "Turk" and that Quivira lay to the north. Accordingly, when the various scouting parties returned, Coronado on June 20 despatched the main army back to Tiguex and then with thirty horsemen set out for the north. After marching forty-two days and covering a distance of nearly five hundred miles, he reached the Platte River in Nebraska and the southern outskirts of Quivira. For twelve more days he marched northward through the province and on July 11 came "to the junction of Beaver Creek with the Loup or Wolf River near the boundary line of Platte and Nance counties."[93] Coronado carefully took note of all he heard concerning rivers and lakes, especially concerning another province adjoining Quivira on the north and known as Harahey.

Intending to make further explorations in these northern regions the following spring, Coronado and his thirty companions began the return march on August 6, and about two months later they were back in Tiguex. During the following winter, however, while taking part in military exercises, Coronado fell from his horse and sustained serious injuries. This was one reason why, at a council held with his officers, it was decided to return to Mexico. Other reasons for this unexpected turn of events were dissensions that had arisen among his followers, as also a certain feeling of alarm caused by the unfriendly attitude of the natives. At all events, in April, 1542, instead of returning to Quivira, Coronado gave orders to break camp and return home. In June, with about one hundred survivors, the army arrived at Culiacán.[94]

[93] Shine, Rev. Michael A., "The Lost Province of Quivira" in *The Catholic Historical Review* (Washington), vol. II (1916), p. 17. For Coronado's route from the Red River to Quivira we have followed the conclusions presented by the late Father Shine in this excellent study. The locality of Quivira has long been a matter of controversy among historians.

[94] Against the wishes of Coronado, but with the justly presumed consent of their Provincial, the three Franciscans remained in New Mexico. After Coronado's departure, Juan de Padilla went back to Quivira, where he erected a chapel for the Indians, who lent a willing ear to his instructions in the Christian faith. Eager to extend his labors to other tribes, he set out to visit the Kansas Indians. But on the way he was attacked by

How determined Viceroy Mendoza was that Coronado achieve the purpose of his expedition is seen from the fact that in the spring of 1540 he commissioned Hernando de Alarcón to sail up the western coast of Mexico [95] and endeavor to co-operate with Coronado.[96] His fleet of three vessels departed, probably from Acapulco, on May 9, 1540, and by the end of August reached the head of the Gulf of California where, to their surprise, they found the outlet of a large river—the Colorado.[97] Here Alarcón cast anchor. Then with a number of men he entered two boats and paddled up the river. From Indians along its banks he heard

some Indians and murdered. To judge from the report of a companion who managed to escape, the murder was committed not out of hatred, but out of jealousy, the Indians being dissatisfied that he minister also to other tribes. As to the year in which he was killed, Winship argues in favor of 1544, the one set down by Vetancurt in his *Menologio*. See Winship, p. 401, note 1. Also Juan de la Cruz and the lay-brother Luis de Ubeda began a mission among the Indians, the former at Tiguex and the latter at Cicuye. Like their confrère in Quivira, they were eventually murdered by the Indians. Coronado had permitted six of those who had come to New Mexico to remain with the friars. Of these, one was the Portuguese soldier Andres del Campo, who with two Mexican Indians escaped and later got back to Mexico. The other three shared the fate of the friars. See *Franciscan Herald*, (Chicago), VI (1919), 106-109, 140-143, 194-197.

[95] Apparently, the only original source of information for the Alarcón expedition is the account which the explorer himself sent to Viceroy Mendoza. See Bancroft, H. H., *North Mexican States* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 93, note 32; Lowery, pp. 289-296; *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 279-280.

[96] The viceroy believed Lower California to be an island. It is true, the year before, Ulloa proved that it was not an island but a peninsula. His voyage, however, was made under the auspices of Cortés, who was at odds with Mendoza and naturally kept the results of Ulloa's voyage a secret. For the opposite opinion see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 90.

[97] Bandelier concludes from the second Guzman narrative that the Spaniards may have heard of this river as early as 1531. See his *Contributions*, pp. 12, note 2; 14, note 2; also his *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States* in *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, Amer. Ser., IV (Cambridge, 1892), Part II, p. 376. If on this occasion the Spaniards heard of the Colorado River, it was on a land expedition and not on a sea voyage, so that where the river emptied was not known in 1540 when Alarcón reached its mouth.

of white men who had been seen farther east. Encouraged by this news, he pushed on. He hoped to meet Coronado and at one place left letters, marking the spot so as to be easily discernible, should any of Coronado's men come this way. How far north Alarcón penetrated is not known for certain. If he passed the mouth of the Gila River, he either failed to record it or the river did not impress him as being of any importance. It was in September when he got there, a time of the year when the Gila "carries no more water than an ordinary brook, notwithstanding the length of its course." [98] Probably in November, 1540, Alarcón gave up the search and returned to Mexico.

His report that the land west of Mexico was not an island but a peninsula and that a great river coming from the north emptied into what was really a gulf suggested to the viceroy the possibility of this river leading to one of the seas that Coronado was instructed to look for. Hence to co-operate with Coronado was deemed of the utmost importance. Consequently, in the following May, 1541, Mendoza again commissioned Alarcón to sail to the north.[99] This time he was to endeavor to communicate not only with Coronado but also with Diego Lopez de Zuñiga who would be simultaneously sailing up the Pacific coast. But before these elaborate plans could be executed, the Indian uprising in western Mexico, known as the Mixton War, broke out in all its fury and demanded the undivided attention of the energetic viceroy.

Toward the end of this war, in the spring of 1542, Mendoza heard that Coronado was returning. Perhaps it was on this account that the proposed second expedition of Alarcón was abandoned. Still, to obtain certainty as to whether in those northern regions some stream,. coursing across the continent, emptied into the Pacific, he commissioned Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo to explore the coast. The expedition sailed from Navidad on June 27, 1542, and reached Santa Barbara Channel where, on January 3, 1543, Cabrillo died.[100] His chief pilot Ferrelo continued the voyage

[98] Bandelier, *Final Report*, Part II, p. 18.

[99] The instructions for this second expedition are dated May 31, 1541. They are in Buckingham-Smith, pp. 1-6.

[100] He lies buried somewhere on the island of San Miguel, opposite the city of Santa Barbara.

and touched on the coast of Oregon. Thence he sailed back and on April 14, 1543, arrived at Navidad.[101]

Various incidents and circumstances justify the conclusion that, beside the colonization of New Mexico, also the problem of the northern mystery was the purpose of these expeditions so generously sponsored by Viceroy Mendoza. As the king in Spain, so the viceroy in Mexico saw in De Vaca's great river a possible water route to the South Sea[102] and for that reason used every effort to ensure the success of the enterprises. As early as 1531 the governor of Nueva Galicia, Nuño de Guzman, had heard of the Seven Cities in the distant north and "had knowledge of them and of a river that flowed to the South Sea and was four or five leagues wide."[103] Hence when five years later Cabeza de Vaca and his fellow survivors appeared in Mexico, it was but natural for the viceroy to combine a search for those Seven Cities with a search for De Vaca's river. Otherwise the ninth point in his instructions to Marcos de Niza[104] would not have read:

> Inform yourself always if there is any knowledge of the sea-coast,—of that of the north as well as that of the south; for it might be that the continent would grow narrower, and some arm of the sea would enter inland. And if you should reach the coast of the South Sea, you will bury, at the foot of some strikingly tall tree on the beach of a bay, letters in which you give information of what may seem to you proper; and such trees you shall mark with a cross, in order that they may be recognized. The same thing you will do at the mouths of rivers, and on the shores of what may be proper for seaports, at remarkable trees near the water, making the same mark of the cross and leaving letters; for in case I

[101] Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest* in *Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1925, 2nd ed.), pp. 1-39.

[102] The instruction he issued to Marcos de Niza in this respect seems to indicate that either De Vaca or Dorantes forgot the mutual promise of secrecy and told the viceroy what they had seen and heard during their sojourn in the northern interior.

[103] *Segunda Relación Anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzman* in Icazbalceta, Joaquin Garcia, *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1866), II, p. 303.

[104] The instructions are in Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 325-328.

should despatch vessels, they will be directed to look for such signs.[105]

In line with this instruction, Marcos de Niza sent messengers one hundred and twenty miles westward; and later, when farther north, he himself penetrated perhaps four hundred miles in a westerly direction. Naturally, when an Indian told him that the famed cities he was looking for lay to the east and that their name was Cíbola, the friar was puzzled. He, as also the viceroy, must have imagined the Seven Cities near the South Sea. Now the Indian told him that they were toward the east. Moreover, the name Cíbola he had never heard before, nor was he sure he heard it correctly now. It stands to reason that the friar's subsequent report to the viceroy was responsible for the fact that Coronado explored eastward in search of a waterway to the South Sea.

If instructions were not issued to Coronado in writing,[106] the viceroy on his visit of inspection at Compostela certainly discussed with Coronado the purpose of the expedition he was to lead. Coronado knew perfectly well that, besides locating the Seven Cities and establishing a colony, he was also to search for a passage to the South Sea. This he himself reveals in the letter which he addressed to the viceroy on August 3, 1540, shortly after reaching Cíbola.[107] After describing at length the territory and what he had learned there, Coronado continues: "No information can be obtained among them [the Indians] about the North Sea or that of the West.[108] Nor do I know how to tell Your Majesty which

[105] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 111.

[106] Up to the present they have not been found.

[107] See Winship, pp. 552-563, for the English translation of this letter.

[108] By the North Sea, to judge from the maps of the time, Coronado meant either the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic Ocean. The Cortés map of 1524 and the Ribero map of 1529 leave the question unsettled. Neither do the later maps help to solve it. The Ulpius Globe of 1542 designates the Gulf of Mexico as the North Sea; while the Cabot map of 1544, the Ramusio map of 1556, and the Zaltieri map of 1566 assign the name of North Sea to the Atlantic near Florida. Perhaps by the North Sea was meant the reputed Sea of Verrazano. That by "the sea of the west" Coronado meant the North Pacific seems plain, the South Pacific being known as the South Sea.

we are nearest to. I shall judge that it is nearer to the western, and 150 leagues is the nearest that it seems to me it can be thither. The North Sea ought to be much farther away."

Before writing this letter, Coronado had sent Diaz westward, evidently in search of that sea of the west. But Diaz never returned; otherwise he would have delivered those letters of Alarcón which he found on the banks of the Colorado River. At Cíbola reports were circulated of a rich country to the north; wherefore two expeditions were despatched in that direction, this time expressly for the purpose of getting information about the North Sea. Tovar's forces reached the Hopi country, where they heard of a large river. To explore this Coronado then sent out another expedition under Cardenas. After passing through the Hopi country, the explorers "came to the banks of the river, which seemed to be more than three or four leagues in an air line across to the other bank of the stream which flowed between them. . . . They spent three days on this bank looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water was six feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide." [109]

Ten months later, at Tiguex, Coronado heard about Quivira. As previously stated, it is not credible that he was lured thither solely by the ridiculous and palpably false story of the "Turk" who was now guiding the army. On the way to Quivira the Spaniards learned that there was a large river to the east, but that Quivira itself lay to the north. Without delay they proceeded to the north. Coming to the province of Quivira, Coronado sent scouting parties in various directions to seek confirmation of what the Indians were reporting about great rivers farther north and east as also about the province of Harahey. At this point in his narrative Castañeda writes:

> The river of the Holy Spirit (rio del Espíritu Santo) [110] which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida,[111] flows through this country. It passes through a

[109] *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 306-310. Cardenas and his men were gazing across the Grand Cañon and down at the river winding through it.

[110] Namely "the Missouri-Míssissippi," as Hodge concludes. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 365, note 2.

[111] It is important to note that Castañeda wrote his narrative about the

> province called Arache,[112] according to the reliable accounts which were obtained here. The sources were not visited because, according to what they said,[113] it comes from a very distant country in the mountains of the South Sea, from the part that sheds its waters onto the plains. It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North Sea, and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it.[114] This is more than 300 leagues from where it enters the sea. On account of this, and also because it has large tributaries, it is so mighty when it enters the sea that they [115] lost sight of the land before water ceased to be fresh.[116]

On the strength of this account, Brower concludes that "the Missouri was reached, since he [Castañeda] says that the river of Espíritu Santo [the Mississippi-Missouri], which De Soto discovered, flows through a country called Arache [Arahei or Harahey], but the sources were not visited, thus indicating that the river may have been seen by one of the numerous parties that Coronado despatched in various directions," [117] during the twenty-six days he spent at Quivira.

Coronado's interest in finding the great river is further seen from the account of another officer in his army. Having related their arrival and first experiences in Quivira, Jaramillo writes:

> The general wrote a letter to the governor of Harahey and Quivira, having understood that he was a Christian from the lost army in Florida,[118] because what the Indian had said of

year 1563, twenty years after the survivors of the De Soto expedition returned to Mexico.

[112] "Evidently the Pawnee country, about the Platte River, Nebraska," writes Hodge. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 365, note 3.

[113] Castañeda, it would appear, was not among the thirty horsemen who accompanied Coronado to Quivira.

[114] In other words, it empties into the Mississippi. Castañeda is all this time speaking of the Missouri.

[115] Namely, Moscoso and the survivors of the De Soto expedition. Castañeda regarded the Missouri as the Rio del Espiritu Santo itself, not as one of its branches.

[116] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 365.

[117] Brower, J. V., *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi* (St. Paul, 1899), II, "Harahey," 73.

[118] Namely, a survivor of the Narváez expedition. Unless Jaramillo's

their manner of government and their general character made us believe this. So the Indians went to their houses, which were at the distance mentioned, and we also proceeded at our rate of marching until we reached the settlements, which we found along good river bottoms, although without much water, and good streams which flow into another, larger than the one I have mentioned. There were, if I recall correctly, six or seven settlements, at quite a distance from one another, among which we traveled for four or five days, since it was understood to be uninhabited between one stream and the other. We reached what they said was the end of Quivira, to which they took us, saying that the things there were of great importance. Here there was a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others. Being asked if there was anything beyond, they said that there was nothing more of Quivira, but that there was Harahey, and that it was the same sort of a place, with settlements like these, and of about the same size.[119]

Toward the close of the narrative Castañeda reveals in unmistakable terms why Coronado was so eager to reach and explore Quivira. He writes:

I will now tell where Quivira lies, what direction the army took, and the direction in which Greater India lies, which was what they pretended [120] to be in search of, when the army started thither. Today, since Villalobos [121] has discovered that this part of the coast of the South Sea trends toward the west, it is clearly seen and acknowledged that, since we were in the north, we ought to have turned to the west instead of toward the east, as we did.[122]

memory failed him, this incident having occurred on the Red River (according to Castañeda), it goes to show that far to the north, in Quivira, the Indians knew of the Narváez expedition.

[119] Winship, p. 590.

[120] Better "which was what they intended to search for—*que era lo que se pretendia buscar.*" The other rendition is misleading, since the English verb "to pretend" is archaic when taken in the sense of "to intend" or "to aspire." In the same sense we must understand George Best when he says that Frobisher "prepared two small barques . . . wherein he intended to accomplish his *pretended* voyage." See Brittain, p. 475.

[121] In 1542 he discovered one of the Philippine Islands, probably Luzon. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 360, note 1. Hence it is clear what Castañeda meant by "Greater India," namely China.

[122] Winship, pp. 464, 539; *Spanish Explorers*, p. 378.

Again, referring to the escape to Mexico of two of Juan de Padilla's companions, Jaramillo writes to the viceroy:

> I have given Gonzalo Solís de Meras and Isidro Solís an account of this because it seemed so important, according to what I say I have understood, that his Majesty ordered Your Lordship to find or discover a way so as to unite that land [Quivira] to this [Mexico]. It is also very likely that this Indian Sebastian, during the time he was in Quivira, learned about its territory and the country round about it, and also of the sea, and the road by which he came, and what there is to it, and how many days' journey before arriving there.[123]

That the solution of the northern mystery was the purpose of the Coronado expedition is evident also from the instructions which Mendoza issued to Alarcón for his second voyage. There was hope that this river which he found emptying into the Gulf of California would offer passage to either the Pacific or the Atlantic; wherefore Alarcón was to co-operate, if possible, not only with Coronado but also with Zuñiga. His expedition was frustrated by the Mixton War and the unexpected return of Coronado; while the one planned for Zuñiga was, immediately after the Mixton War, entrusted to Cabrillo. What Lowery writes in connection with the Cabrillo voyage, applies with equal force to all the expeditions sent by Mendoza into the northern interior: "In the imagination of the viceroy, based upon the geographical learning of that day, by ascending still further northward the narrowing gulf [of California] which separated California from the eastern confines of Tartary, the fabled straits of Anian and the coveted waterway to Europe would be found."[124] In other words, the purpose of these expeditions was primarily to discover whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo would in some way help to solve the problem of the northern mystery.

Needless to say, only the land expedition of Coronado had as secondary purpose the colonization of the northern interior. Coronado understood this and plainly indicated it in the letter which he addressed to the king on October 20, 1541, after returning from Cíbola. He declared that "it would not be possible to

[123] Winship, pp. 592-593. [124] Lowery, p. 339.

establish a settlement here, for besides being 400 leagues from the North Sea and more than 200 leagues from the South Sea with which it is impossible to have any communication, the country is so cold, as I have written to Your Majesty, that apparently the winter could not possibly be spent here, because there is no wood, nor cloth with which to protect the men." [125]

Like De Soto who was just then traversing the regions of the Arkansas River, Coronado knew that he was to establish a colony and co-operate with the friars toward the founding of a mission for the Indians.[126] But unlike De Soto who at least gave serious thought to this secondary purpose of his expedition, Coronado concluded that colonization was impossible. It would seem that his remaining at Tiguex over winter for the purpose of again visiting Quivira the next spring was due largely to the letters which Pedro de Tovar brought "from New Spain, both from the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, and from individuals." [127] Mendoza's letters have not come down to us. What they contained, however, may be conjectured from the manner in which he received Coronado after the latter's return to Mexico.

Indications are that when spring came and Coronado decided to abandon the country, opinion among his officers was divided as to whether such a step would be advisable. At all events, the missionaries decided to remain. Castañeda tells us that, in a sermon delivered shortly before the army's departure, Juan de Padilla "declared his zeal for the conversion of these peoples and his desire to draw them to the faith, and stated that he had received permission to do it, although this was not necessary." [128]

[125] Winship, pp. 580-583. For the Spanish text see Pacheco y Cardenas, III, 363-369; XIII, 261-268.

[126] It is interesting to note with Winship (p. 371, note 2) "that the two parties could not have been far apart in the present Oklahoma or Indian territory, or perhaps north of that region."

[127] *Spanish Explorers*, p. 367.

[128] *Ibid.*, p. 372. Marcos de Niza, the Minister Provincial, had doubtless instructed the friars to that effect. It may be that among the letters which Pedro de Tovar brought from Mexico to Tiguex was one from the Provincial, permitting the friars to remain and found missions, even in case the army should return to Mexico. Furthermore, after the departure

Coronado, the friar intimated, might abandon the project of colonization; an attempt to convert the Indians would be made, however, because such had been the agreement.

When Coronado's army, on its return march, arrived in upper Sonora, they met Juan Gallego who "was coming from New Spain with reinforcements of men and necessary supplies for the army, expecting that he would find the army in the country of the Indian called Turk," namely Quivira. Gallego was sorely disappointed. "The first thing he said was not, 'I am glad you are coming back,' and he did not like it any better after he had talked with the general." Others shared this disappointment, and, as Castañeda continues, "there was talk of making a settlement somewhere in that region until the viceroy could receive an account of what had occurred."[129] What these men feared was the displeasure of the viceroy who must have but shortly before expressed to Gallego what hopes for the establishing of Spanish prestige in the northern regions he was placing in the expedition entrusted to Coronado.

And they had reason to fear Mendoza's displeasure, as Coronado himself was soon to experience. He eventually reached the capital and, to quote Castañeda, "made his report to the viceroy, Don Antonia de Mendoza, who did not receive him very graciously,[130] although he gave him his discharge. He [Coronado] kept the government of New Galicia, which had been entrusted to him, for only a short time, when the viceroy took it himself, until the arrival of the court, or *audiencia,* which still governs it."[131] Mendoza's displeasure is readily accounted for. From the reports of others who had been in New Mexico he concluded that Coronado had abandoned too hastily and without sufficient reason

of Marcos de Niza, Juan de Padilla was Superior and as such in a position to decide the question for himself and his two companions.

[129] *Spanish Explorers,* p. 375.

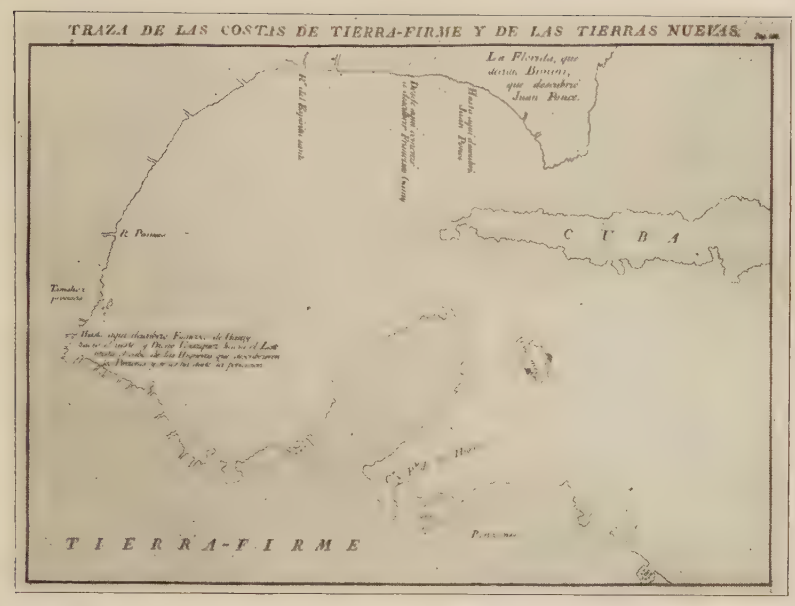
[130] Jaramillo makes the same statement. "Francisco Vasquez [Coronado]" he writes, "came here to Mexico to make his report to the viceroy, who was not at all pleased with his coming, although he pretended so at first. He was pleased that Father Friar Juan de Padilla had stayed there." See Winship, p. 579.

[131] *Spanish Explorers,* p. 378.

the project of colonization. If the friars thought it possible to convert the natives and to that end remained in the country, why had not Coronado been equally willing to stay and co-operate with the missionaries by founding a settlement for the whites? Success might have crowned his efforts; in which case he could have made further explorations in Quivira and Harahey and gain definite information as to whether the Rio del Espíritu Santo offered an opening to the South Sea. Like the equally elaborate De Soto expedition, the survivors of which were at this moment making desperate attempts to get back to Mexico, also that of Coronado failed to achieve its twofold purpose, the solution of the northern mystery and the establishment of a colony in the northern interior.

We have seen how Pineda's voyage, undertaken to find a waterway to the South Sea, resulted in the discovery of the Rio del Espíritu Santo; how after De Vaca's experiences and reports this river was regarded as possibly the strait which Pineda had sought; and how for that reason further expeditions were set in motion to find the reputed trans-continental waterway and to colonize the northern interior. Both these projects were of the greatest importance for Spain. Upon their realization depended the safety of her commercial advantages in the Far East as also the security of Mexico against foreign invasion. Of this the Spanish government was fully aware; wherefore every effort was bent on occupying Florida by colonization and thereby controlling the Gulf of Mexico. The northern interior could be further explored and colonized from Mexico. Meanwhile the existence of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, its exact locality, extent, and course, would be kept as much as possible a secret. Such was the plan of Spain and, in keeping with this plan, we find that during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries Spain fixed her claim by colonization on Florida, New Mexico, and the western Mexican border. In the early seventeenth century France finally undertook to colonize her territorial claims on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Then it was that the problem of the northern mystery became identified with the reports that circulated in New France concerning the "great water" that existed in the unexplored west. Finally it became known that this water was really an immense

river flowing toward the south. But whether it was the same that map makers were tracing and naming Rio del Espíritu Santo was still a matter of speculation. In fact, when Talon, the intendant of New France, took up the project of westward expansion, the question was whether the great river Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of California and therefore offered passage by water to the South Sea. It was to solve this problem that Louis Jolliet was entrusted by the French government with the first exploration of the Mississippi River.


TRAZA DE LAS COSTAS DE TIERRA-FIRME Y DE LAS TIERRAS NUEVAS.
La Florida, que
descubrió Bimini,
que descubrió
Juan Ponce.
C U B A
T I E R R A - F I R M E

1. Garay, 1520

See pp. 4, 7 [14], 16 [39], 201, 209.

2. Cortés, 1524

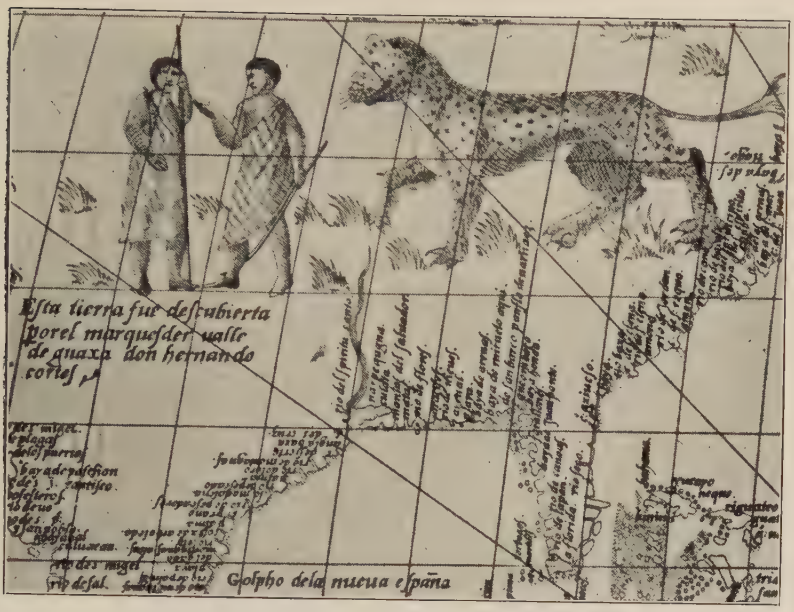
See pp. 40 [108], 209.

3. Ribero, 1529

See pp. 40 [108], 209.

4. Ulpius Globe, 1542

See p. 40 [108].



5. Cabot, 1544

See pp. 40 [108], 202 [27], 209.

6. Zaltieri, 1566

See pp. 40 [108], 101 [1], 209.

7. Mercator, 1569, 1585, 1590, 1595, 1602

See pp. 101 [1], 209, 213 [52].

8. Ortelius, 1570

See pp. 101 [1], 209.

9. Lok, 1582

See p. 210.

10. Hakluyt, 1587

See pp. 209, 210, 213 [52].

11. Mercator, 1587

See p. 209.

12. Judaeis, 1593

See p 210.

13. De Bry, 1596

See pp. 208, 210.

14. Wytfliet, 1597

See p. 209.

15. Wytfliet, 1597, "Florida et Apalche"

See pp. 209, 213 [52].

THE JOLLIET-MARQUETTE EXPEDITION, 1673

CHAPTER I

New France in the Middle Seventeenth Century

When in 1661 Louis XIV assumed personal charge of the French monarchy, the foundations were already laid for that fabric of royal absolutism which never before or after in Christian Europe took on dismensions so vast and so imposing. Boldly the *grand monarque* overstated and stubbornly asserted what for almost a century political theorists had been demonstrating and what in his own day a French bishop [1] was setting forth as the divine right of kings. Because the French people were traditionally far less insistent than their English neighbors on constitutional government, the absolutist policy of Louis XIV encountered comparatively no resistance at home; while the tenets of Machiavellian diplomacy and the display of military prowess served to weaken whatever opposition foreign powers threatened to create. By promoting agriculture, encouraging industry, and protecting commerce he improved the condition not only of the peasantry but also of the rising merchant class, and thus gained the support of both. At the same time the nobility, clerical and lay, were held in check by the glamor of sumptuous court life and the gloss of social distinction; or where this failed to silence their demand for a voice in the government, they were plainly told that their high position in the realm was fundamentally a royal grant, depending for its continuance upon the good pleasure of the king and upon their allegiance to him as the supreme arbiter in all national and international affairs.

Absolutism shaped also the foreign policy of Louis XIV. He was determined that France, to his mind the most polished and enlightened, ought to become also the most influential nation in

[1] Jacques Benigne Bossuet (1627-1704) who in 1670 published his famous *La politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte,* in which he based his theory of monarchy by divine right on texts from Holy Writ.

Europe, a nation whose pretensions the others would admit and whose friendship they would court. The numerous secret as well as open alliances with foreign powers and the almost uninterrupted wars of aggression and spoliation demonstrate by what means and with what persistence Louis XIV pursued his policy of territorial expansion and political aggrandizement. Toward the Church his attitude was scarcely less autocratic. At his request, Le Vayer de Bretigny wrote a book *On the authority of kings concerning the administration of the Church.* In true Gallican fashion he compared the Church with a ship and said that by divine right the pope was its pilot and the king its captain, the former presiding over navigation and the latter protecting the ship not only against attacks from without but also against undue pretension from within.[2] In 1673 the controversy with Rome over the so-called *regale* brought France to the verge of a schism. Nine years later followed the celebrated Declaration of the Clergy of France, in which thirty-six prelates of the Church and thirty-four deputies of the nobility reasserted the Gallican liberties. If these and similar disputes did not create a rupture it was due in part to the conciliatory policy of the Holy See and in part to the change in the religious life of the king during the second half of his reign. As Goyau points out, in the career of Louis XIV it is important to distinguish two periods: the first, from 1661 to 1682, one of libertinage, when he was largely under the influence of ambitious and unscrupulous court favorites; and the second, from 1682 to his death in 1715, one of greater devotion and loyalty to the Church, when he listened more readily to such as were less insistent on the Gallican liberties.

From first to last, however, the foreign policy of Louis XIV, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was shaped by one dominant purpose: the political and territorial aggrandizement of France. To unite France politically he insisted on religious unity; wherefore he took harsh measures against the Huguenots and in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes. At the same time, to weaken Catholic Austria he secretly supported the Calvinist Tököly in his alliance with

[2] See Goyau, George, *Histoire Religieuse* in *Histoire de la Nation Française* (Paris, 1922), pp. 445-446.

the Turks against the emperor. Seven years later, in 1690, he obtained for the Catholics in Jerusalem possession of the Holy Places by furnishing the Turks with the four million livres that enabled them to continue their war on western Christendom. Before 1688, to secure the succession of a Catholic prince to the English throne, he supported the Stuarts; after the fall of the Stuarts, however, to keep a prince of the Catholic Habsburgs off the Spanish throne he recognized the Protestant succession in England and subsidized the new rebellion that Rakoczy was leading against the emperor.

Royal absolutism at home in every department of government, civil and ecclesiastical; complete control of political affairs abroad; and territorial expansion at the expense of neighbors, the justice of whose remonstrance he could not deny, but the strength of whose resistance he could either unnerve by cunning diplomacy or crush by force of arms;—such in brief outline was the domestic and foreign policy of Louis XIV during the forty-four years that he controlled the destinies of France.

The French colonial possessions, especially on the banks of the St. Lawrence, were soon to experience the effects of this policy. The Thirty Years' War and the international problems confronting the French government after the Peace of Westphalia had compelled Richelieu and Mazarin to grant the colonies in the New World to a commercial corporation known as the Hundred Associates. During the administration of Mazarin, commercial interests had directed considerable attention to the Carribean possessions and to Guiana in South America.[3] But comparatively nothing had been undertaken to colonize and develop New France.[4]

[3] By 1664 fourteen of the Lesser Antilles were French possessions. In that year their total French population was about 15,000. See Bolton-Marshall, p. 94.

[4] From a letter of Governor d'Avagour, dated at Quebec on October 13, 1661, we learn that in that year the total population of white settlers was less than 3,000 souls and that these were scattered over an area of eighty leagues along the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal. See *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), vol. 46, p. 151. This edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, prepared by Thwaites, will be quoted hereafter as *Jes. Rel.*

Vested with almost sovereign powers, the Company of Hundred Associates not only appointed the civil governor for New France but also enjoyed a monopoly of the fur trade, the king being content with a share in its profits. For these extensive privileges the company pledged itself to defray the expenses of colonization and to give financial support to the Jesuits whom Richelieu entrusted with the spiritual affairs of the colony. But the Hundred Associates failed to keep their promise, while political complications in Europe left the king and his ministers little time for colonial matters. Thus the commercial adventurers neglected colonization almost entirely and supported the missionaries only in so far and so long as they furthered the material interests of the merchants by mediating with the Indians upon whose good will the lucrative fur trade depended.

The Jesuits, on their part, were satisfied with this state of affairs. New France, they planned, would eventually develop into another Paraguay.[5] As far as Montreal was concerned, it soon became manifest that this colony would not prove a serious obstacle. The religious enthusiasm that brought it into being was short-lived, the few colonists being left to eke out a miserable existence.[6] With financial aid accorded them by wealthy and influential friends in the mother country, whose interest in the New France missions was kept alive by the annual *Relations,* the Jesuits were willing to forego the support of the Hundred Associates.

It is true, the activity of unscrupulous fur traders, free from effective government restraint, proved detrimental to the welfare of the Indians and in great measure nullified the heroic labors of the zealous missionaries. Still, the Jesuits realized also that as long as New France was under the sway of the commercial com-

[5] By more than one writer, beginning with La Salle, has this statement been made. But there were always other writers who rejected it as wholly unfounded. It can not be denied, however, that the plan was to erect in New France so-called reductions, such as existed in Paraguay. See Rochemonteix, P. Camille De, S.J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII Siècle* (Paris, 1895-1896), I, 384-388.

[6] It was not till after 1657, the year in which the Sulpicians came, that Montreal began to flourish.

pany, their own influence in temporal as well as spiritual affairs would be paramount. Their Superior at Quebec was *ex officio* member of the civil council. In this capacity he naturally had much to do with the governor; wherefore the choice of a governor by the Hundred Associates was generally in keeping with the wishes of the Jesuits. This, the latter felt, secured them against the possibility of molestation from self-seeking politicians. Moreover, the system enabled them to retain control over the Indians and through them over the destinies of the colony. The time would come when the vast unsettled regions could be parcelled out into flourishing and self-supporting reductions. In short, with the number of colonists kept at a minimum; with industry and commerce restricted to the sparse settlements in and about Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; with the governor's powers greatly curtailed and vaguely expressed; and with the governor personally devoted to the interests of the missionaries;—New France, from 1632 to 1663 was rather a mission land than a civil colony, governed rather by the spiritual than by the temporal authority.

For a monarch like Louis XIV, deeply imbued with the notion of the divine right of kings, such a state of affairs was bound to appear intolerable, once he set his mind on making New France a royal colony and developing its material resources for the benefit of the crown. An occasion to assert his supposed absolute rights came at the very time when he began his personal reign. Rumors reached France that discontent among the settlers on the banks of the St. Lawrence was such as to demand immediate action. In fact, there was danger that the colony would be abandoned entirely, unless the king came to the rescue.[7] In 1661, at the petition of the colonists, Governor d'Avagour sent Pierre Boucher, Governor of Three Rivers, to France. His mission was to inform the king of the great hardships and dangers to which the people were exposed and to make recommendations for the conservation of the colony and for the development of its resources. In the same year that Boucher's observations on New France appeared in

[7] See Joubleau, M. Felix, *Etudes sur Colbert* (Paris, 1856), II, 90.

print,[8] Governor d'Avagour addressed a memoir to the king.[9] In this he pictured New France as a land of golden opportunities for agriculture, industry, and commerce, not to speak of territorial expansion and of a possible solution of the northern mystery. Again, it was known to Louis XIV that the English were planning the conquest of new territories in North America and that they were using the Iroquois to check the advance of the French. Unless steps were taken for the protection and development of New France, the English would before long cross the St. Lawrence and re-enact the event of 1628.

Louis XIV and his colonial minister Colbert fancied that, if New France was to be saved from internal decay and secured against foreign invasion, a radical change would have to be made in its government. From a mission land it must become a royal domain, with the temporal authority in full control of all material affairs. They knew quite well, however, that a sudden overthrow of prevailing conditions would provoke serious opposition and greatly retard the execution of their project. For the present, therefore, it would be expedient to make a show of benevolence toward those actually in control. Accordingly, the king granted the request of the vicar apostolic, Monsignor de Laval, and appointed Sieur de Mezy to replace d'Avagour as governor. More than appeared on the surface, this appointment was a compromise between the spiritual and the temporal authority, the former seeking to preserve and the latter striving to acquire what both considered an inherent and inalienable right; the former gratified over what is thought a redress of just grievances, the latter content with what it regarded as an initial step toward a farther goal.

[8] They were published in Paris in 1663, as the *Histoire véritable et naturelle des Moeurs et Productions du Pays de la Nouvelle-France.* Boucher's letter to Colbert, prefacing the work, is dated at Three Rivers, New France, October 8, 1663.

[9] For this memoir, dated August 4, 1663, see Brodhead, J. R., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856-1887), IX, 13-17. In it Governor d'Avagour refers to his two previous dispatches as also to his confirmation of a similar memoir by Sieur Dumont.

Several incidents attending this appointment reveal the true mind of Louis XIV when he made it. Neither did he trust the accusations against d'Avagour nor did he expect the new governor to prove more satisfactory than his predecessor. The Sieur de Mezy was accompanied to New France by a royal commissioner in the person of the Sieur Gaudais, who was to serve also as intendant until Colbert could find a suitable candidate for that office.[10] Gaudais had two sets of instructions.[11] In the first he was told that he would not have to trouble himself about Church affairs. In the second set, however, he was ordered to investigate the charges levelled against the ex-Governor d'Avagour, what the spiritual authorities thought of him, and on what they based their charges; then he was to observe the conduct of the vicar apostolic and of the Jesuits, but with the "prudence and discretion requisite in such cases, so that it may, in no wise, appear that this order has been given him;" next he was "to obtain the same information on that [the conduct] of the Jesuits, and especially endeavor to discover the reasons which have obliged them to complain against said Sieur d'Avagour, and if it be with justice or not." Shortly after his arrival in New France, Governor de Mezy without stating any reason revoked Maisonneuve's commission as governor of Montreal and provided him with a temporary commission, which was to be definite only after the king had signified his approval.[12] Furthermore, he made the existence of the local seigniorial courts practically impossible by directing that their judges were to serve without remuneration.[13] His purpose was evidently to centralize civil authority in the sovereign council at

[10] M. Robert had been appointed in 1663, but for some reason he never exercised the office. See Garneau, F. X., *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1920, 6th ed.), I, 210. On November 15, 1664, Colbert wrote to Tracy that he despaired "of being able to find an intendant who has the qualifications suitable for that office, those who would fill it worthily not having the heart to expose themselves to so long a voyage." See Salone, Émile, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1906), p. 151.

[11] For these instructions, dated May 1, 1663, see Brodhead, IX, 9-13.

[12] See Gosselin, L'Abbé Auguste, *Vie de Mgr. de Laval* (Quebec, 1890), I, 426; also Faillon, L'Abbé, *Histoire de la Colonie Française en Canada* (Villemarie, 1865), III, 76-78.

[13] Garneau, I, 215.

Quebec, the members of which were to be chosen conjointly by himself and the vicar apostolic, on whose conduct Sieur Gaudais was to report to the king. Doubtless, in these as in other matters, Mezy thought he was following royal instructions. It would almost seem that the serious conflict which ensued between him and Monsignor de Laval on the question of appointments to the sovereign council was precisely what Louis XIV and Colbert contemplated as a pretext for further diminution of spiritual authority.

When the vicar apostolic requested that his friend, the Sieur de Mezy, be appointed governor, he certainly did not anticipate any trouble between himself and the new official. As mayor of the town of Caen, Mezy was known as a man of exceptional piety; and when informed of his appointment for New France, he accepted it "for the sole purpose of sanctifying himself, while promoting the glory of God, the service of the king, and the welfare of the colony."[14] What the Jesuits hoped from him we find expressed in the letter which their Superior, under date of August 18, 1663, wrote to the General of the Society when the news of Mezy's appointment reached Quebec.

> When the Governor [d'Avagour] was recalled, before his term of three years had expired, we were on such good terms with him that, God so favoring us, he has withdrawn from us in a friendly mind. We are continually expecting the new one, from day to day—one very devoted, as is reported, to the affairs of the Church and the Society. Having been offered by the Most Illustrious and Most Christian king, and in turn accepted, he will agree with him, as we hope, in all things, to the great advantage of our commonwealth. Nevertheless, we are not a little anxious concerning the safety of both;[15] because, although they should have already come to us, they do not yet appear.[16]

The new governor soon proved that the vicar apostolic had made a very poor choice. Both arrived in September, 1663, and already

[14] See Faillon, III, 67.

[15] i. e. of the new governor and of the vicar apostolic who had gone to France and was now returning to the colony.

[16] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 47, p. 247.

in the following February began that bitter conflict between the two authorities which,[17] considering Mezy's earlier career, makes his term as governor perhaps the most tragic in the colonial history of New France. In September, 1664, just a year after his arrival, the struggle came to a head, resulting in Mezy's removal from office before the end of that year. What surprises one is not so much the arrogance and obstinacy he manifested toward the spiritual head of the colony as rather the apparent feeling of security with which he overstepped his authority. One is inclined to think that not only Gaudais but also Mezy had secret instructions from the king and that on the strength of these the unfortunate governor looked for the king's approval and support. But for this Louis XIV and his shrewd minister were not yet prepared.

While the governor in New France was struggling for the pretensions of the king, Louix XIV and Colbert were laying plans for the further establishment of temporal authority in the colony. In the spring of 1663, the Company of Hundred Associates had been dissolved and New France declared a crown land under the jurisdiction of the king and his colonial minister. About a year later, on May 25, a royal edict was issued confirming the newly formed Company of the West Indies and granting it the proprietorship of all French colonies in the New World. For forty years it was to enjoy a monopoly of trade and commerce, but in return was to further colonization and leave to the king the appointing of the higher officials. The office of colonial viceroy had previously been abolished, and now a lieutenant-general of French America was appointed in the person of Alexander de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy. The colony uppermost in the mind of Louis XIV when he made this arrangement was New France. Here more than elsewhere it was to mean a further step toward the goal he had set himself. When it was reported that Mezy was abusing his power, the king instructed Tracy

[17] After December 9, 1663, until February 7, 1665, the vicar apostolic did not sign any of the decrees of the sovereign council. See *Édits, ordonnances royaux, declarations et arrêts du Conseil d'état du Roi concernant le Canada* (Quebec, 1854-1856), II, 14-24. This work will be hereafter quoted as *Édits*.

to proceed to New France.[18] Thereupon, in order to preserve the control in all temporal matters, he shrewdly divided the temporal authority in the colony between a governor and an intendant, both to be appointed by himself. For governor he chose M. Daniel de Remy, Sieur de Courcelles,[19], while for the office of intendant Colbert had at last found a suitable candidate, M. Jean Talon.[20] Tracy, the lieutenant-general, arrived in New France on June 30, 1665, accompanied by four companies of soldiers.[21] These were added to the four hundred whom Salieres had brought over a few weeks before. In the following September the new governor and intendant, Courcelles and Talon, landed at Quebec, their two vessels conveying, besides eight companies of soldiers, whatever was needed for the work of colonization. Their arrival and first official acts elicited, under date of November 3, 1665, the following statement from the Jesuit Superior at Quebec:

> Our period of waiting was thus happily brought to an end, since these vessels brought Monsieur de Courcelles, Lieutenant-general for the king in this country, and Monsieur Talon, Intendant for his Majesty.
>
> Monsieur de Courcelles, breathing nothing but war, immediately set about serving his Majesty therein under Monsieur

[18] His commission, dated November 19, 1664, is in *Édits*, III, 27-29. For English translation see Brodhead, IX, 17-19.

[19] For his commission see *Édits*, III, 31-33. His instructions, dated March 23, 1665, will be found in *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires et autres documents historiques relatifs a la Nouvelle-France* (Quebec, 1883-1885), I, 172-176. This *Collection* will be quoted as *Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle-France.*

[20] His commission, like that of Courcelles, is dated March 23, 1665. It is in *Édits*, III, 33-35, while an English translation is in Brodhead, IX, 22-23. His instructions, dated March 27, 1665, are published in Clement, Pierre, *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert* (Paris, 1861-1873), III[2], 389-397; in *Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 176-179; in *Documents historiques—Correspondance échangée entre les autorités françaises et les gouverneurs et intendants* (Quebec, 1893), pp. 5-13. An English translation is in Brodhead, IX, 24-29.

[21] The death of ex-Governor Mezy, which occurred at Quebec on May 5, 1665, spared the new officials the unpleasant duty of summoning him to trial. He died reconciled to the Church, Monsignor de Laval having lifted the excommunication and himself attended the dying governor in his last hour.

de Tracy's orders,—proceeding by water, in rather inclement weather, to visit the works in progress at a distance of forty, fifty, and sixty leagues from Quebec, in order to prepare for the campaign of next spring and summer.

Monsieur Talon made it evident to us at the outset that the King loved this country, and has great plans for its upbuilding—convincing us by his verbal assurances to that effect, and also, much more, by his personal merits, which cause us already to taste the sweets of a superintendence so guided by reason, and of a policy in all respects Christian.[22]

The governor's expedition here referred to was more than a tour of inspection to the western forts. It was a campaign against the Oneidas and Mohawks, conducted with greater ostentation than practical results. These two cantons of the Iroquois confederacy, located nearest to the English colonies, openly defied the French; while Indian treachery made it unsafe to rely on the treaty which the three western cantons, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, had concluded with the French during the winter and spring of 1666. The display of arms and the erection of forts Sorel and Chambly on the Richelieu River filled them with terror. But there was no telling how soon this terror would wear off and the three tribes, actuated by English influence, would renew their allegiance to the Iroquois confederacy. It was clear to Tracy and Courcelles that, if the Lake Champlain region was to become a strong barrier between the English colonies and the Iroquois cantons, harsh measures must be taken against the easternmost cantons. Once the formidable Mohawks were subdued, the others would clamor for peace. Accordingly, in the summer of 1666, an army of twelve hundred French soldiers and about three hundred Huron and Algonquin allies, invaded the Mohawk country, put the natives to flight, and destroyed their villages. This crushed the pride and valor of the Mohawks and in July, 1666, they sued for peace. Before the end of the year, the treaty was arranged which was destined to endure for the next eighteen years.[23]

With the subjugation of the Iroquois, the external mission of

[22] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 50, p. 83.

[23] See Faillon, III, 138-149.

Tracy in New France came to an end.[24] At the instance of Talon, however, the king requested him to remain in the colony another year.[25] Though advanced in age and in poor health, Tracy consented and during the next nine months took an active part in the affairs of the government, abetting the intendant in the work of reform he had already commenced and gathering data for the report he was to present to the king on the political and social conditions of the colony. Finally, in August, 1667, he sailed for France.

The man who at Tracy's departure entertained feelings of regret and apprehension was Intendant Talon. His position in New France as immediate and special representative of the king[26] was by no means an easy one. Colbert foresaw this and for that reason was so careful in selecting a candidate for the office. He was soon to learn that in Talon he had engaged the services of one who not only realized the difficulty of his office, but who also knew how to avoid needless friction and score a victory where another less cautious would have met with defeat. In his tact no less than in his executive ability and staunch loyalty to the crown Colbert placed implicit trust. Both the minister and the intendant realized that they had a capricious and crafty king to reckon with. But their official correspondence shows plainly that perfect understanding and complete confidence existed between them. This we see especially from the lengthy and detailed instructions which were handed to Talon before he departed for New France. He was told in unmistakable terms what had hitherto prevailed in the colony and, as a result, occurred concerning the relation between spiritual and temporal authority; what that relation was henceforth to be; what problems he would have to face and what projects undertake in order that New France might

[24] He had also a secret mission which is indicated by M. de Lyonne in a letter to Tracy, written on November 15, 1664. In this letter Tracy is told that in the future he should correspond directly with the king because the post which he holds is one of confidence. See *Documents historiques*, p. 194.

[25] Colbert to Talon, April 5, 1666, in *Documents historiques*, p. 200.

[26] His commission closes with the words: "*de ce faire vous donnons pouvoir, autorité et mandemant special.*"

be gradually changed from a materially speaking unprofitable mission land into a lucrative royal colony. That Talon's instructions should be so explicit on the question of authority was quite natural, considering how Louis XIV reasoned and what he wanted. He held that territorial possessions fall within the sphere of temporal and not spiritual authority. Consequently also material resources belong to the temporal ruler alone, who has both the obligation and the right to develop them for the benefit of the commonwealth. Though these conclusions are false because based on false premises, it is nevertheless true that the other projects outlined in Talon's instructions could not have been realized unless the temporal authority was in complete control of the material resources. As might be expected, the design of Louis XIV to acquire this complete control stirred up a conflict between his representatives and the spiritual authorities. It was a struggle not so much over abstract principles as rather over practical issues. Not till the days of Governor Frontenac, who lacked the discretion and coolness of Talon, did the misunderstandings break out into an open and bitter quarrel.

What Talon expected, once civil authority was in control and the material resources were properly developed, we find expressed in the memoir which he drew up a few weeks after his arrival. Among other things he had this to say:

> In the measure that Canada will develop, its people being naturally warlike and disposed to all sorts of labors, it will be able to support the French portion of South America, should old France find itself unable to do this, and that all the more easily as it would have its own vessels. This is not all. If its commerce and its population increases, it will relieve the mother country of all that the latter can spare, and, by its importations from the kingdom, it will contribute to the increase of the king's revenue and accommodate the French producers by buying the surplus of their merchandise. On the contrary, if New France is not supported, it will fall into the hands of the English, of the Dutch, or of the Swedes; and the advantage which will be lost by losing this country is not so little important that the Company must not admit that this year it is passing to old France for about 550,000 francs' worth of skins. For all these reasons, then, as for those which are known and of which nothing is said,

> or which are hidden and which time will make appear, one must convince oneself that Canada is of inestimable value.[27]

With high hopes and vast prospects Talon set about exercising the extensive powers granted him by the king. In 1663, as his instructions informed him, the king had directed that the lands conceded to the settlers be cleared more gradually, that those already cleared be cultivated, and that the settlers be grouped into towns and parishes. These orders, he was told, had not been carried out; it would be for him to do so now, regardless of the opposition it might arouse. Accordingly, before the end of 1665 three towns were laid out in the vicinity of Quebec. After the Iroquois campaign, many of the soldiers availed themselves of the discharge from the army, offered them by the king on condition that they settle at the three forts near Lake Champlain and there devote themselves to agriculture. The same occurred in 1668 when more than four hundred of the Salieres regiment took up farming near Quebec and Montreal. In addition, Talon strongly advocated the forming of a landed nobility, such as existed in France. He was sure that this provision would greatly promote and properly regulate agriculture and would in time lead to the founding of new towns. Though the annual quota of immigrants was considerably smaller than Talon asked for, it was large when compared to the number of immigrants that had arrived during the preceding twenty-five years. In 1668, when Talon left for France, the total white population was about 6,300 souls, more than double the number it had been three years before.

What Talon foresaw would necessarily impede colonial development were the extensive privileges of the Company of the West Indies. He realized at a glance that with this company monopolizing trade and commerce for the next forty years, the settlers would be as much victimized now as they had been when the Hundred Associates were in control. True, in return for their privileges, the new company pledged itself to advance colonization at its own expense and to develop commercial relations with the mother country and the West Indies. But Talon recalled how

[27] Memoir of Talon, October 4, 1665, quoted by Garneau, I, 253-254.

little the former merchant corporation had kept their pledge. Could the new one be more trusted? Besides colonization and commerce were matters that concerned the intendant's office, as expressly stated in his instructions. Already in the first memoir Talon declared that in his opinion the king's project of developing New France into a vast colonial empire would never mature so long as the king left "in other hands than his own, the seigniorage, the property of the soil, the nominations to parishes and dependencies, and even the trade which constitutes the soul of the establishment." The intelligent and energetic intendant spoke out his mind in terms that show how safe he felt when dealing with the men upon whose good pleasure his continuance in office depended.

> What I have seen from the time of my arrival to this moment, has convinced me fully of what I advance; for, since the Company's agents have given it to be understood that it would not suffer any freedom of trade—neither to the French who were in the habit of coming to this country with merchandise from France, nor to the proper inhabitants of Canada,—even so far as to deny them the right of importing on their own account the products of the kingdom which they made use of, as well for their own support, as in trade with the Indians, which alone will ruin the most considerable of the inhabitants, to whom agriculture does not afford sufficient inducements to make them remain here with their families. I clearly perceive that the Company, by pushing its power to the extreme it pretends, will doubtless profit by impoverishing the country; and will not only deprive it of the means of self-support, but will become a serious obstacle to its settlement, and that Canada will in ten years be less populous than it is today.[28]

In part at least Talon's protest had the desired result. The company was not abolished, as he had insinuated it should be[29]; but in April, 1666, the royal council granted the colony freedom of trade with the Indians, and two years later this privilege was extended to include commerce with the mother country.[30]

With New France comparatively secure against Iroquois raids, with the number of colonists and settlements gradually increasing,

[28] Brodhead, IX, 31-32.

[29] It was not abolished till 1674. [30] See Garneau, I, 248.

and with freedom of trade to some extent conceded by the Company of the West Indies, Talon saw his way clear for the promotion of agriculture and industry and for the establishment of trade and commerce. In line with his instructions, he continued to apportion lands among the immigrants. In 1667, according to the official report, land was under cultivation to the extent of 11,174 arpents. During the following year the total amount had increased to 15,642 arpents.[31] Like the king and his colonial minister, Talon hoped "that in a few years all the granted lands would be, generally speaking, under cultivation."[32] Hence it was that, during his first term of office, the intendant made agricultural pursuits his chief concern. As Garneau points out, "he entered into the detail of the smallest matters, invited the settlers to come to him, and went to visit them; he took note of their thrift and seconded their enterprises."[33] To create a spirit of emulation among the colonists, he had the home government issue medals of distinction which were to be awarded to such as achieved noteworthy results in some particular branch of agriculture. Besides the ordinary grains, the cultivation of hemp and flax received special attention.[34] To promote the clearing and tilling of land, he put restrictions on the more attractive and more lucrative fur trade. The result was that the price on beaver skins rose, while imported goods became considerably cheaper. This was in both cases a distinct advantage for the colony. At the same time a beginning was made with various branches of industry. Before long Quebec had its factories where colonists were instructed and employed in the manufacture of hats, shoes, soap, potash, and tar. By 1668, Quebec had a brewery, an industrial venture which Talon hoped would counteract the evils of the liquor traffic. On his way to New France, in 1665, Talon disembarked at Gaspé in order to locate a reputed silver mine.[35] A similar enterprise was undertaken the next year when he sent an engineer to St. Paul Bay, below Quebec. The *Relation* for 1667 reported that the intendant

[31] See Brodhead, IX, 61.

[32] Talon's instructions of March 27, 1665, in Clement, III[2], 394.

[33] Garneau, I, 254.

[34] See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 50, p. 243.

[35] Garneau, I, 254.

was "directing a careful search for mines, which appear to be numerous and rich."[36] It tells us also that in 1667 fisheries were opened on the St. Lawrence and its tributaries; that the returns therefrom were large, especially from the "seal-fishery which furnished the whole country with oil, and yields a great surplus that is sent to France and to the Antilles."[37] These fisheries, Talon was sure, would in time become a most lucrative branch of colonial trade and foreign commerce. He even contemplated "forming some sort of company to plant the first of these and bear their initial expense."[38] Foreign commerce necessarily called for the building of vessels; wherefore this enterprise, too, received his earnest attention and the whole-hearted endorsement of the colonial minister. In 1668 the first large vessel, constructed in the colony, was launched in the roadstead at Quebec. In short, New France was fast entering upon a period of material prosperity. It elicited from the Jesuit Superior at Quebec the following words of recognition and approval:

> The accomplishment of all this, at his Majesty's expense, obliges us to acknowledge all the results of his royal kindness, by vows and prayers which we constantly address to Heaven, and with which our churches re-echo, for the welfare of his sacred person. To him alone is due the whole glory of having put this country in such a condition that, if the course of events in the future correspond to that of the past two years, we shall fail to recognize Canada, and shall see our forests, which have already greatly receded, changing into towns and provinces which may some day be not unlike those of France.[39]

In the beginning of his career in New France, Talon does not seem to have apprehended any serious difficulties on the question of authority, so minutely and frankly discussed in his instructions. Tracy doubtless showed him the letter which he had received, under date of January 20, 1665, from the General of the Society of Jesus and likewise the reply which he wrote on January 5, 1666.[40] At all events, the intendant's first impressions and

[36] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 50, p. 243.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 247.
[40] See these letters quoted in Rochemonteix, II, 381-382, note 2.

prospects were anything but gloomy. In his memoir of October 4, 1665, he wrote:

> I say that if the Jesuits in times passed balanced the temporal by the spiritual authority, they have greatly improved their conduct, and there will be no need of being guarded against them, provided they always comport themselves as they now do. I shall watch them, however, and prevent as much as in me lies, their proceedings from being prejudicial to his Majesty's interest, and I believe that in so doing I shall not have any trouble.[41]

In their *Relation* for that year the Jesuits struck an equally hopeful note, insomuch that their General at Rome found it in place to send Talon a word of appreciation. He told the intendant what consoling reports the Fathers in New France had transmitted to Rome on the friendly attitude he was manifesting toward the Society and how he, the Superior General, was hoping God would preserve the intendant many years, "serviceable and unimpaired both for His glory and for the Most Christian king, as also for the benefit of our least Society."[42] This letter reached Talon the following summer, and he replied, under date of November 11, 1666, as follows:

> I would be greatly consoled if the letter which you accorded me the honor of writing to me had as great foundation of truth as it is honest and obliging. I receive so much civility from the Fathers of your Society who are in New France, and I so little respond to so many marks that they give me of their good will, that I am confused over it, the more so since on your part you give me such urgent proofs of your good will. The future will perhaps offer occasion greatly to repair the past by rendering some useful services to your society. It well deserves these under various titles: its constant labor to procure the glory of God, the honor of its king, and the establishment of the French colony exact all my solicitude to recognize theirs on the part of his Majesty and on my own in particular. The first education which I received through their obliging cares, they having raised me in the schools, demands all my recognition. If I had conserved the fruit of their instructions, I would have the honor

[41] Brodhead, IX, 29.

[42] See the letter, dated January 11, 1666, in Rochemonteix, III, 84.

> of apprizing you of it by discoursing in Latin.[43] But I am become a wretched pupil of a good teacher, though meanwhile I always remain in the will of serving him well. This is what I very humbly beg you to believe and to be persuaded that I honor and respect you as much as I am able.[44]

It was not in place, Talon thought, to acquaint the General with what had already occurred and what he feared would still occur. Otherwise his reply would have been more accordant with what he wrote to Colbert only three days later:

> When the king ordered me to Canada, his Majesty did me the honor to tell me that he would leave me there only two years. My discharge can not come before that time. I pray you, most humbly, Sir, to have the goodness to obtain it for me. I should not ask it, had I sufficient genius and talent to acquit myself efficiently in the employment you did me the honor to procure for me, and to mould a rising state without such aid as that of Mr. de Tracy.[45] Should his Majesty, nevertheless, believe that I can be useful to him, I have no other will than his and yours. Command, and though infirm, I shall obey, sacrificing entirely my person to his service and to your satisfaction.
>
> I know well I am not here with the consent of the whole world; and it is this, coupled with my own indisposition, that induced me to ask the king for my discharge. Should you wish to know who there are who may be dissatisfied with my conduct and wherefor, Chevalier de Chaumont and the Company's general agent will be able to acquaint you, and to inform you that if I would leave the Church on the footing of authority I found it, I should experience less trouble and more appreciation.[46]

problem successfully, Colbert refused to relieve him of office. It was doubtless the presence of Tracy that prevented unfriendly feelings from breaking out into open discord. When in August, 1667, Tracy set sail for France, he took with him Talon's memoir. In this the king and his minister were told that, instead of being

[43] The General had written in Latin, but Talon replied in French.

[44] See the letter quoted in Rochemonteix, III, 85.

[45] Talon knew by this time that Tracy's sojourn in Canada would end the following summer.

[46] Talon to Colbert, November 13, 1666, in Brodhead, IX, 57.

diminished, spiritual authority "has taken on new forces" to such an extent as to make it very probable that the colonial officials "will have a hard time carrying out the good intentions of his Majesty for the development of this colony." [47]

Such was the conviction at which Talon arrived after two years' experience and which a few months after Tracy's departure again induced him to ask for his discharge. It may be true that his instructions tended to prejudice him against the vicar apostolic and the Jesuits. But it is equally true, as his first memoir plainly shows, that he brushed prejudices aside and decided to act on what he saw with his own eyes. If the two contending parties sincerely meant what they wrote, it can not be denied that in the beginning not only Monsignor de Laval and the Jesuits but also Talon wanted peace. Later, however, Talon was influenced by the letters he received from Colbert. Being on the spot and seeing what occurred, the intendant could not but feel that Colbert's charges and corresponding directions were justified. The temporal as well as the spiritual authorities were desirous of peace and harmony, but neither desired it at the cost of what they regarded as their rights.

If the conflict that ensued was mainly between the king's representatives and the Jesuits, the reason is because in last analysis it was the Jesuits who controlled the spiritual authority. The duties of Talon, qualified by the aims of Louis XIV, were by their very nature at variance with the duties and aims of the Jesuits. To appropriate as government property lands near Quebec, in order to establish towns, was to despoil the Jesuits of a valuable and long-standing concession. To increase the number of colonists, to found new settlements, and to encourage trade with the Indians meant to incur the risk of reviving the liquor traffic. To make the Indians sedentary, to bring them in closer touch with the whites, to teach them the language and customs of the French, to stress the allegiance they owed to the king,—all this was equivalent to withdrawing them from the control of the missionaries and exposing them to the danger of contracting the vices of unscrupulous traders and settlers.

[47] Talon to Colbert, August 26, 1667, quoted by Garneau, I, 587-588.

Talon had been told that for the proper protection of the settlers against the inroads of hostile Indians it would be necessary to reduce the size of the land grants and to arrange the settlements into parishes and towns. The intendant saw the wisdom of this plan. But he was unfortunate in the choice of a site where to make a beginning along these lines. For December 26, 1665, the Jesuits made the following entry in their journal: "We presented a petition to Monsieur the Intendant, respecting our land of Notre Dame de Bons Secours. *Frustra.*" [48] This land was part of their extensive seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges, near Quebec. In 1667, doubtless to compensate the Jesuits, Talon decided in their favor a long-standing dispute regarding their claim to La Prairie de la Magdeleine, opposite Montreal. Hence on October 4, 1667, they could report that "Monsieur the Intendant gave us a favorable answer to our petition to be allowed to go and establish ourselves at La Prairie de la Magdeleine." [49] Nevertheless, Talon thought they were still dissatisfied and on October 27 wrote to Colbert that he did not know how he stood "with the Jesuit Fathers, since they have seen themselves deprived, on the outskirts of Quebec, of certain concessions on which they figured; and I am told that they are discontented, though they have the prudence to show nothing of it." [50]

A matter that in the following decade brought Frontenac into serious trouble made its first appearance at this time. For August 30, 1666, the journal of the Jesuits has this entry: "Sieur de la Motte's bark weighed anchor for France. We wrote but a word, which I had to show to Monsieur de Tracy, who desires that the chevalier de Chaumont, who goes by another vessel, shall be the bearer of all the news. *Quod hactenus inauditum.*" [51] The Sieur de la Motte was general agent of the Company of the West Indies. Talon, in his letter of November 13, 1666, referred to him and to Chevalier de Chaumont as the men from whom Colbert could

[48] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 49, p. 181.

[49] *Id.*, vol. 50, p. 215.

[50] Talon to Colbert, October 27, 1667, quoted by Lorin, Henri, *Le Comte de Frontenac* (Paris, 1895) p. 7, note 4. See also Rochemonteix, III, 86, note 2. Brodhead (IX, 60) does not print this portion of Talon's letter.

[51] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 50, pp. 187-199.

learn who were dissatisfied with him (Talon) and the reason for it. Tracy's relations with Talon would indicate that the intendant also had something to do with this inspection of missionary correspondence.

The promotion of colonial trade revived the problem of liquor traffic, an evil which in previous years had elicited so many just complaints from the Jesuits and compelled the vicar apostolic to take drastic action. In 1660 an *ipso facto* excommunication was launched against all who furnished the Indians with intoxicating liquor. Three years later the prohibition of the liquor traffic was one of the favors which the vicar apostolic obtained from the king. At the outset, Talon's mind on this question was in line with what the minister of the marine, M. de Lyonne, wrote to Tracy; namely, that the prohibition to sell liquor to the Indians "is doubtless a good principle, but one which is very ruinous to trade, because the Indians being passionately fond of these liquors, instead of coming to trade their peltries with us, go trade them among the Dutch, who supply them with brandy. This," the minister continues, "is also disadvantageous to religion. Having wherewith to gratify their appetite, they allow themselves to be catechised by the Dutch Ministers, who instruct them in heresy. The said Bishop of Petraea [52] and the Jesuit Fathers persist in their opinions, without reflecting that prudence, and even Christian charity inculcate closing the eyes to one evil to avoid a greater or to reap a good more important than the evil." [53]

After consulting Tracy, the intendant decided to avoid both extremes. To mitigate the evils which he could not deny and at the same time inaugurate a profitable industry, he established a brewery in Quebec. On this matter he consulted also Colbert, as appears from what the latter wrote to M. de Terron, the intendant at Rochefort, in France:

> Since the establishment of breweries, which was effected in Canada, has been judged very important, as well for the

[52] This was Monsignor de Laval's episcopal title *in partibus infidelium*.

[53] De Lyonne to Tracy, November 15, 1664, in Brodhead, IX, 22. For the French text see *Documents historiques*, p. 194.

> purpose of lessening an infinity of disorders which occurred from the too great quantity of wines and brandies that were transported thither as also for the purpose of keeping the money in the country, and since the sovereign council of Quebec has issued a judgment conformable with this, I believe that it is well for you to see to it, to the full extent of your powers, that the merchants of La Rochelle who have full liberty to engage in commerce with that county, do not bring but the smallest quantity of drinks which they can thither, so that one can prevent in this way drunkenness and idleness, which are almost inseparable from each other and so prejudicial to the welfare and development of this colony.[54]

From this it is clear that Colbert as well as Talon endeavored to co-operate with the spiritual authorities in this weighty matter. But as time went on the intendant began to think that the missionaries had been exaggerating the evils and stressing the prohibition of the liquor traffic in order to ensure their own trade interests; that with absolute prohibition in force, trade with the Indians and their allegiance to the French would be impossible; and that by proper vigilance and stringent measures the evils could be mitigated and the traffic controlled. Accordingly, in 1668 he and the governor prevailed upon the sovereign council to permit the sale of liquor to the Indians, but to set a penalty on drunkenness. This provision the vicar apostolic denounced and refused to sign the decree.[55] What the Jesuit Superior thought of it we find expressed in his letter to the General of the Society. He complained that "the political rulers of these regions, little fair to us, desire to humble the Jesuits whose influence over the savages and our people is too great." To this attitude, he explained, "they are incited by another reason, namely, because they find us less accordant in some matters upon which the honor of God and the salvation of souls depend."[56] One of these matters, though not expressly mentioned, was undoubtedly the liquor question.

Another affair in which Talon found the Jesuits "less accordant" and "upon which the honor of God and the salvation

[54] Clement, III[2], 404, note 2.

[55] See Rochemonteix, III, 129, note 1.

[56] Jerome Lalemant to Paul Oliva, February 12, 1668, quoted by Rochemonteix, III, 87.

of souls" depended, in the mind of the Jesuits, was the so-called Indian problem. Whoever has read the *Relations* must concede that the Jesuits made heroic sacrifices for the conversion of the wild and roving tribes among whom they cast their lot. If the spiritual results were comparatively meager, it was due partly to the character of the Canadian Indian and partly to the system which the missionaries were forced to adopt. The Indians in New France were nomads, unaccustomed and averse to sedentary and organized community life. Still, to wean them gradually from their roving habits was not impossible. This the Jesuits themselves experienced at Sillery, where ever since their arrival in Canada they conducted what in Paraguay became known as reductions. In 1640 it was introduced at Matchedache Bay, on the southeast coast of Georgian Bay, by Jerome Lalemant, with the approval of the General of the Society.[57] Though beset with many difficulties and hardships, the project would most probably have succeeded here as it had at Sillery if the Iroquois war, that broke out about 1650, had not resulted in the dispersion of the Hurons and their allies for whom the establishment had been intended. After that the missionaries in the new west again followed the Indians through trackless forests, or, after the hunting season, welcomed them to the trading posts, there to instruct them in the Christian faith and baptize such as were at the point of death.

The very project of Louis XIV to colonize New France involved the project of "Frenchifying" the Indian. To Talon's appeal for more colonists, Colbert replied that it would be unwise to depopulate the mother country for the sake of the colony. Instead, he suggested, steps should be taken "to civilize the Algonquins, the Hurons, and other Indians who have embraced Christianity, and to induce them to come and settle in common with the French, to live with them and raise their children according to our manners and customs."[58]

Colbert's suggestion was inspired not only by a sincere desire to benefit the natives but also by a secret design to bring them

[57] Rochemonteix, I, 385-388.

[58] Colbert to Talon, April 6, 1666, in Brodhead, IX, 43.

under the immediate influence and control of the civil government. Rumors were afloat and Talon believed them that the Jesuits were again trying to introduce the reduction system; that for this reason they were so willing to take over the Iroquois missions and so intent on establishing missions in the distant west. But, as Talon saw it, this system was directly opposed to the design of the temporal authorities. He held that, unless the Indians were under the immediate and direct control of the State, it would be practically impossible to make them understand that they were not only members of the Church but also subjects of the French king; and that as subjects of the French king they should learn the French language, live according to French standards, and take an active and personal interest in the material development of what was after all their native land. To make them allies of France, he contended, they must be given French civilization.

A beginning was to be made by placing the Indian children in school. The intendant brought this unquestionably weighty matter to the attention of the vicar apostolic, the Jesuits, and the Sulpicians. All promised to co-operate. Monsignor de Laval provided for the education of Indian boys in his seminary at Quebec. The Sulpicians opened a school at Montreal for such Indian children as they succeeded in rescuing from Iroquois captivity. On October 27, 1667, Talon wrote to Colbert, saying that if he could promise the Superior of the Sulpicians "in the name of the king, that their labors will not be disturbed in the future by keeping a school for the instruction of the savages, much would be done to deprive them of their wild nature, and that, emulation prevailing between them [the Sulpicians] and the Jesuit Fathers, they would vie with each other in laboring to perfect their work." [59] Though the Jesuits, too, took up the work of educating the Indian children, as desired by the civil authorities, Talon thought he saw in their attempts a lack of real enthusiasm. On returning from France, in 1670, he found that the number of children whose education had been begun at Quebec was considerably smaller than it had been two years before. This of course confirmed him

[59] Talon to Colbert, October 27, 1667, quoted by Faillon, III, 270, note.

in his suspicions, although in his letter to Colbert he admitted that "their zeal for this charity revives, and that they are about looking up new subjects to rear them according to our manners, language and maxims." Talon seems never to have been able to rid himself of the notion that, as their opposition to the liquor traffic, so also their apparent antipathy in this affair was actuated less by a desire to safeguard the spiritual welfare of the Indian than by a determination to control through him the domestic trade of the colony. How Talon endeavored to thwart this project of the Jesuits without creating an open conflict will be seen later.

What embarrassed the intendant very much and perhaps more than anything else induced him to ask for his discharge was the three-cornered struggle that ensued between himself, the governor, and the vicar apostolic. There is reason to believe that Louis XIV anticipated and perhaps even intended this. For one thing, it was a means of keeping himself and his colonial minister well informed on current events in New France. Monsignor de Laval was the ecclesiastical head of the colony and as such enjoyed the right to appoint conjointly with the governor the members of the sovereign council. In an important matter, then, he and Courcelles were on equal footing. Naturally, this provision made the governor jealous and fearful—jealous because on this point he saw his power divided, fearful because he knew what had happened within the space of only four years to his predecessors d'Argenson, d'Avagour, and Mezy. The same feelings of jealousy and fear he entertained toward the intendant, whose extensive powers he regarded as a curb on his own and of whose influence at court he was well aware. As governor, Courcelles was nominally at the head of the civil government, held the place of honor at the meetings of the council, and controlled all military and intercolonial affairs. But the actual administration of the colony, financial matters, police protection, criminal proceedings, and development of material resources—all this was in the hands of Talon. At the council table the vicar apostolic sat at the governor's right and the intendant at his left. But in the absence of the governor, it was the intendant who presided and not the vicar apostolic. As a matter of course, this arrangement piqued

the latter, who saw in it another proof that the temporal authority was to replace the spiritual. In turn, Talon's endeavor to preserve peace with the ecclesiastical party nettled Courcelles, who wanted harsher methods and quicker results; while the attitude which Talon assumed toward problems that directly affected the rights of the Jesuits displeased the vicar apostolic, whose trust in the intendant was still more shaken when the latter advocated and effected a further reduction of the seminary tax.

That Talon's position in this three-cornered conflict was most irksome and embarrassing is clear. Taking this into account and conceding that it worried him when he saw how the exercise of his duties toward the king earned for him the displeasure and criticism of men whose priestly character he had to reverence and whose rights he could not wholly ignore, it is easy to understand why he became more and more disgusted with the office entrusted to him. As early as November 13, 1666, he begged Colbert to obtain for him the discharge which the king had promised him after two years of service. In the course of the next year his health began to fail, while family interests were clamoring for his return to France. Accordingly, on October 29, 1667, he again asked to be relieved of his office. In view of the promise made him, Louis XIV could not well refuse to grant this second request. Besides, as we shall see, the king and his minister had their own plans, especially since the intendant had expressed his willingness to remain in office if such were the will of his Majesty. Talon's letter reached Colbert early in 1668 and on April 5 of that year the instructions, prepared for his successor, M. de Bouteroue, were officially approved.[60] These arrived in Quebec the following summer and toward the end of that year Talon left for France.[61] Shortly after his departure, the Jesuit Superior recorded the event in the following terms:

> Monsieur Talon, Intendant for the King, has not ceased to exert every effort for the general good of this country, for the cultivation of the fields, the discovery of mines, the promotion of commerce, and for every advantage that can con-

[60] His instructions, dated April 5, 1668, are in Clement, III², 402-405.

[61] See Lorin, p. 8, note 2.

> duce to the establishment and enlargement of this colony, Consequently, we would regret much more his return to France, if we did not have as his successor Monsieur Bouteroue who is all that we could wish for to make good the loss.[62]

Chapais finds the achievements of Talon during his first term of office in New France analogous to what Colbert had meanwhile accomplished in the mother country. He writes:

> The intendent was not unworthy of the minister. Whilst the latter, in full light and in full glory, asserted himself by a series of brilliant deeds and famous ordinances as the restorer of finances, of commerce, of industry, of the marine, the former, far from the splendid scene where reputations were established, put forth all the resources of a superior intelligence to organize here an administration and financial system, to have our nascent land enter upon the road of commercial, industrial, and maritime progress. Talon is a colonial Colbert; what the one achieved on a vast stage and with vast means, the other endeavored to realize on a small stage and with limited resources.[63]

More correctly than they suspected the members of the sovereign council gave expression to the secret motive that induced the king to recall the intendant. They wrote to Colbert:

> Since Monsieur Talon has decided to return to France, believing his health sufficiently sound to undergo the fatigues of the voyage, we will add nothing to the letter which we have the honor of writing to you. As he is perfectly informed on all the matters that concern the welfare of this country, he will be able to furnish you with true light on them. We rely entirely upon him. And meanwhile we will not cease to pray to God for the continuance of your prosperity and health *etc.*[64]

It is surprising how short a time intervened between Talon's arrival in France and his reappointment to the office he had just vacated. He must have reached France some time in January,

[62] *Jes. Rel.*, vol 51, p. 171.

[63] Chapais, Thomas, *Jean Talon, Intendant de la Nouvelle France, 1665-1672* (Quebec, 1904), p. 293.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

1669; and about four months later, on May 10, the office of intendant of Canada was again assigned to him.[65] Chapais thinks that "when leaving Quebec, Talon expected to return, but not immediately. He went back to France," he says, "to recover his health, to arrange some family affairs, and also to let time and absence mollify certain irritated minds and disarm certain critics." [66] However that may be, Talon was certainly in earnest when he asked to be relieved of the intendancy. Not so, it would seem, Louis XIV and Colbert. What Chapais writes is true: "Without doubt the king had given him his discharge, Colbert had recalled him, another intendant had been appointed in his place, very likely for a two years' term of office at least." [67] Yet, all this was only on paper; and to draw up State documents merely for appearances, lest a secret design be revealed, would have been quite in keeping with the administrative policy of the king and his minister. What they needed badly, after three years of experiment with the new colonial regime, was first-hand and trustworthy information. This the sagacious and loyal intendant, they judged, was best qualified to furnish them; wherefore they now accepted his resignation, but at the same time decided to reappoint him. With the same end in view they chose as his temporary successor a man who they knew would from the start make himself impossible with the governor whom Chapais correctly characterizes as touchy, suspicious, and impulsive.[68] Very significant is the fact that Talon's new commission was apparently never registered with the sovereign council, nor any provision made to that end.[69]

In July, 1669, Talon sailed for Canada. One of the vessels, carrying three hundred and fifty immigrants and stores of provisions for the colony, left earlier and arrived in New France

[65] Colbert to Courcelles, May 15, 1669, in Clement, III², 449, 402.

[66] Chapais, p. 311.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 67. Talon proposed as his successor M. de Ressan, the secretary of M. de Tracy. But he "lacked moderation," says Chapais, "and having manifested a too pronounced hostility toward the bishop and the Jesuits, he was not accepted" (*Ibid.*, p. 147).

[69] See Lorin, p. 8.

some time in August. But the other vessel, in which Talon set sail with the Franciscans and with François Perrot, his nephew and governor-elect of Montreal, was swept in a heavy storm to the coast of Portugal and there completely wrecked. The result was that Talon, Perrot, and the friars were compelled to return to France. Here they waited till the following spring when they again embarked for the colony.[70] Meanwhile, in New France, the duties of intendant were exercised by M. de Patoulet, the loyal secretary of Talon.

During his stay in France, Talon was in constant touch with Louis XIV and Colbert, reporting to them on conditions in the colony, making recommendations for its material development, discussing the relation between the spiritual and the temporal authority. The effects of his activity are seen not only from the events of his second term, but more immediately from the instructions given to Sieur Gaudais[71] as also from Colbert's letter to Courcelles, signed only two weeks after these instructions. As five years before, so now again, Gaudais was commissioned to inspect New France and to report on its climatic, economic, social, financial, political, and religious conditions. "As to religion," he was told "to let the bishop alone." Neglecting to co-operate with Intendant Bouteroue for the material progress of the colony, Courcelles had complained bitterly against him, charging him with being completely under the influence of the vicar apostolic and the Jesuits. By the time Colbert received these incriminations and prepared his reply, he and Talon had already discussed this point at great length and had formed their plans. Consequently, in his letter to Courcelles, Colbert simply urged that colonization be earnestly fostered and that trade and commerce be stimulated, especially now that freedom in both had been granted the colony. As to his charge against Bouteroue, the minister had little sympathy and less encouragement to offer. In the light of what he and Talon had planned, the minister wrote:

> In reply to what concerns M. de Bouteroue, since his Majesty has decided to send back M. Talon who himself will

[70] Chapais, pp. 326-328.

[71] For his instructions see Clement, III[2], 443-449.

> bring you this dispatch, I have nothing to say to you regarding his character. But perhaps in course of time you would have detected in him better qualities than you have done in so little time that you have associated with him since the date of your letters;[72] anyway, I can assure you that he is a man who is held in very high esteem and who would worthily perform the duties of his office; and, although I am persuaded that he would not have been in course of time so absolutely dependent on the bishop and the Jesuit Fathers, still I believe that he is to be esteemed for having had deference and esteem for them.

Not that the project of making New France a royal colony in control of the temporal power was to be relinquished. It was to be pursued with the same firmness, but with less clamor and ostentation. For this reason Colbert continued:

> In a word, I must tell you that it is necessary for a man in the position you hold to suffer at times the defects of others and to know how to avail himself of their good qualities, even though they be mingled with bad ones, in order to co-operate for the good of the service and the execution of the king's intentions.

To impress this still more deeply on the mind of Courcelles, the minister closed his letter with the following statement:

> Concerning the matter of the too great authority which you find the Bishop of Petraea and the Jesuits, or to put it better, these latter in the name of the former, appropriating, I must tell you that it is necessary for you to act with much prudence and circumspection in this affair, seeing it is of such a nature that, when the country increases in population, the royal authority will assuredly prevail over the ecclesiastical and will recover the veritable extent that it should have. Meanwhile you will always be able to prevent skillfully, without the appearance either of rupture between you or of partiality on your part, the over great enterprises which they could undertake; on which matter you will be able to consult M. Talon and act in concert with him.[73]

Here we see a shrewd, calculating statesman giving directions

[72] Namely, September and November, 1668.

[73] Colbert to Courcelles, May 15, 1669, in Clement, III², 449-451; also in *Documents historiques*, pp. 202-203.

to a brusque, impetuous soldier. Both are determined to capture the same stronghold, but each in his own way—the one by cunning diplomacy and without haste, the other by sheer force and without delay. The man who was in great measure responsible for the policy set forth in this letter to Courcelles was unquestionably the intendant Talon. Three years of experience in New France had taught him a useful lesson. He it was who suggested to the king and his minister that the only successful way of establishing temporal authority in the colony would be by outwardly showing deference and benevolence toward those who had so long controlled and were still largely controlling the affairs of New France. We shall see what other method he employed to reach the same end.

Some time in May, 1670, Talon embarked a second time at La Rochelle, accompanied by François Perrot and six Franciscans. On August 18 their vessel cast anchor at Quebec. Bouteroue having left for France on April 9,[74] the intendant was free to undertake once more the work of colonial reform.[75] In his letter accompanying the *Relation* for that year, the Jesuit Superior wrote as follows:

> Monsieur Talon, our Intendant, has at last arrived here safely, after being almost shipwrecked at the port, under circumstances of greater danger than in the shipwreck which he suffered in the preceding year at the port of Lisbon in Portugal. Here it was toward Tadouassac that his vessel was stranded on a rock, whence it could not be taken off except through an extraordinary succor from Heaven, procured for it by Saint Anne. We may say that the joy afforded us all by his safe arrival was not less than the fear and the universal consternation into which the news of his shipwreck had thrown us.[76]

The fact that Louis XIV and Colbert approved the various recommendations he had made fired Talon with new zeal and

[74] See Clement, III[2], 402, note 1.

[75] His new commission was dated May 10, 1670, and the corresponding instructions a week later, May 17. The latter were not so lengthy as those given him in 1665. See Chapais, p. 319.

[76] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 53, p. 27.

courage. What he now undertook for colonial reform, never losing sight of his first instructions, may be grouped under three heads. First, the material progress of the colony. This was to be achieved by continued attention to trade, commerce, and industry and by regular and increased immigration. Second, the gradual diminution of spiritual authority. This he hoped to accomplish peacefully in two ways: by inviting to a wider activity the Sulpicians, whose civil governor at Montreal would be his own nephew, and by establishing at Quebec and elsewhere the Franciscans, whose return to New France he himself as well as the colonists had earnestly requested. Third, the territorial expansion of French sovereignty in North America by keeping the English occupied on the Atlantic seaboard, cementing peaceful relations with the Iroquois, and vigorously pursuing the work of exploration, especially in the distant west.

On returning to the colony, Talon found to his great satisfaction that his first term had not been in vain. During his absence of eighteen months, the colonists had continued the various enterprises previously begun, so that now the prospects for the material prosperity of New France were bright. Commerce with the mother country having been granted by the Company of the West Indies, the intendant bent every effort to put New France in a position where it would be able not only to support itself but also to furnish foreign French markets with foodstuffs produced in the colony on the St. Lawrence. This prospect he unfolded to Colbert, who in turn assured him that the king was greatly pleased and urged that there was nothing to which the intendant "should devote more attention than to strengthen and increase the beginnings of the navigation which the inhabitants of Canada have undertaken this year to the said islands and to induce them to construct or purchase ships in order to establish their commerce well, being certain that there is no better way of putting them more at their ease and procuring a considerable increase of the colonies of that country."[77] Hence, regarding the material development of New France, it may be said that foreign commerce became one of the outstanding features of Talon's second term of

[77] Colbert to Talon, February 11, 1671, in Clement, III², 511-512.

office. He fully realized that this would necessarily further colonial trade and industry, give a strong impetus to ship-building, and provide employment for a large number of colonists as also for the expert craftsmen who at his instance had already been sent to the colony.

The granting of freedom of commerce with France was certainly a far step in the right direction.[78] The good effects of it were soon noticed. Not only did prices on imported goods and commodities come down; what was of greater importance was that the colonists began to see how it was now for their own benefit they were laboring, and not for the benefit of a commercial company. This in turn encouraged them and spurred them on to take the initiative and to co-operate with the energetic intendant for that material prosperity which marks the intendancy of Talon as a distinct period in the history of New France.

The military colonies, founded at the four forts on the Richelieu River, proved a decided success. In the year that Talon resumed office six companies of the Carignan regiment returned to New France. These comprised in all three hundred men, not counting the thirty officers. With these companies came one hundred and fifty girls of marriageable age. Soon after their arrival they married the soldiers; whereupon the couples began housekeeping on one of the tracts of land provided for them by the intendant. Large estates were granted to the thirty officers with seigniorial rights. On these estates the married soldiers settled, thus becoming the tenants of their former military commanders. Colbert and Talon saw how important it was to populate New France rather by natural increase than by immigration from the mother country. For this reason, seconded by the ecclesiastical authorities, they advocated early marriages. The home government set a prize on large families, and in 1671 Talon directed that licenses to hunt, fish, and trade with the Indians would be issued only to married men. In this manner, by 1672 the total population of New France was more than 7,000, treble the number it had totalled nine years before.[79] A great majority of the colonists were en-

[78] What the Company of the West Indies retained was the right to one-fourth on beavers, one-tenth on elks, and the exclusive trade of Tadouassac.

[79] See Brodhead, IX, 61, for the official reports.

gaged in agriculture and stock raising. As the population increased, more land was cleared and soon wide stretches between Quebec and Montreal were under cultivation. Under date of June 4, 1672, Colbert informed Talon that by a new decision of the royal council, endorsed by the king, all uncleared lands had been appropriated by the crown and that they were to be bestowed on future immigrants.[80]

Stock raising developed to a marked degree. Domestic animals of every kind were shipped to the colony and distributed among the settlers. In the matter of colonial trade it should be noted that, to save the farmer the time and inconvenience of coming to town for purchase of necessaries, government agents were employed by Talon to go the round of the more distant farms.[81] This provision called for the building of roads and highways connecting the various settlements. Twice a week there was market day at Quebec and Montreal, which enabled the colonists to procure commodities at a much cheaper price. To the industries already established new ones were added. Thus, for instance, the raising of sheep and the cultivation of flax and hemp provided materials for the manufacture of cloth for wear and of cordage and sailcloth for the shipyards. The cutting of timber was carefully supervised by government agents who selected what was of suitable quality and sent it to the sawmills operating on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Here it was cut into planks and masts, which were then shipped either to France for the royal navy or to the shipyards at Quebec. Before the end of Talon's second term, coal was being mined at Cape Breton, iron near Three Rivers, and copper in the vicinity of Lake Superior. "In the entire colony," to quote Rochemonteix, "from Gaspé and Tadouassac to Lake Ontario, from fort Sorel to Holy Sacrament Lake a feverish activity prevailed, the blessing of peace." [82]

It was a clever scheme that Colbert and Talon conceived for the purpose of weakening the authority of the vicar apostolic and the influence of the Jesuits. No one could deny that in the past

[80] Colbert to Talon, June 4, 1672, in Clement, III[2], 541.
[81] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 68.
[82] Rochemonteix, II, 391.

few years the colony had made far and rapid strides on the road to material prosperity, that its white population had increased considerably, and that commercial and industrial activities had grown in number and in importance. In view of this, what could appear more in place than that new laborers be invited to share the burden of the Jesuits in the spiritual field? Talon was sure that outwardly the ecclesiastical authorities would only welcome such an increase of ministers to the spiritual needs of the colony. What they would infer from this inwardly he cared not, so long as their sentiments remained under cover. Peace would be preserved, because he himself would not fail to show outwardly all possible deference to those who had hitherto monopolized the spiritual field and who, he believed, were still minded to keep control also over the colony's temporal affairs.

To all appearances, Talon did not confide his plan on this particular point to Courcelles. Consequently, misunderstandings between him and the governor became even more vexing than before. Garneau thinks that the trouble proceeded "less from a difference of views than from a difference of character." [83] Lorin is of the opinion that "Courcelles is known to have been better disposed to the Jesuits than Talon." [84] Commenting on this statement, Chapais writes: "The study of the contemporary documents does not allow us to share this view. Courcelles was, we believe, just as ill disposed toward the Jesuits as Talon." [85] Whatever opinion one may adopt,[86] it seems quite plain from the governor's correspondence that, if he had been fully aware of the ulterior motive that prompted Talon's friendliness toward the spiritual authorities, he would have fallen in line. As it was, he continued to launch complaints against the Jesuits and openly manifested his hostile attitude toward the vicar apostolic. For months before his voyage to France, in November, 1671, Monsignor de Laval did not attend the meetings of the sovereign council. Gosselin says he was absent from February 4 to October 4, "per-

[83] Garneau, I, 257.

[84] Lorin, p. 15, note 3.

[85] Chapais, p. 358, note 1.

[86] The present writer, after consulting the documents in the various collections, accepts the view of Chapais and of Garneau.

haps out of prudence, in order not to embitter his relations with the governor and the intendant." [87] The same writer informs us that the reason for his absence, as imparted to the councilors by M. de Bernieres, was because "the worthy prelate expected that he would be invited and because no steps had been taken to demand his presence there." [88] This was certainly a serious matter and it pertained especially to the governor to look into it, which he doubtless would have done if Talon had taken him into his secret.

More clearly than ever the vicar apostolic saw how the wind was blowing. It was time for him to effect what had long been contemplated and what he now regarded as an indispensable measure to thwart the government's scheme. New France must be erected into a diocese immediately dependent upon the Holy See. Ever since 1659, when he was appointed vicar apostolic, this proposal had been strenuously balked by Louis XIV, who insisted that the colony remain under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen. In the fall of 1670, after Talon's return to New France, the question was again ventilated. But the intendant gently reminded Monsignor de Laval that it was from the king he would have to expect the title of bishop with jurisdiction of his own right and that it would be to his own interest to safeguard this prerogative of the king, since it was upon his, the king's, consent that the matter hinged. "On this matter," Talon wrote, "he has given me evidence of accepting my advice in good part and thereafter much recognition." [89] Seeing how the colony had developed, Louis XIV finally relented and by the Bull of Clement X, dated October 1, 1674, New France became a diocese[90]; whereupon Monsignor de Laval returned to Canada as its first bishop.

No one will blame the Jesuits for supporting the cause of the vicar apostolic and endeavoring to have the new title conferred upon him. They fully realized that spiritual authority would be greatly strengthened by having a bishop in the country independent of the archdiocese of Rouen. Moveover, the past thirteen

[87] Gosselin, I, 462, note 2.

[88] *Id.*, II, 155.

[89] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, quoted by Gosselin, I, 642. This portion of Talon's memoir is wanting in Brodhead, IX, 91.

[90] See Gosselin, I, 648-650.

years showed them that their Superior General was right when he referred to Monsignor de Laval as being well disposed toward the Society.[91] For this reason, while the heads of the Society at Rome and Paris were using their influence to have Monsignor de Laval's petition granted, the Jesuits in New France set out with redoubled vigor to found missions in the distant west, assured that the vicar apostolic would also as bishop approve their proceedings and thus enable them to develop in the west that control and influence which with the expansion of the Sulpicians and the return of the Franciscans they were certain to lose in the east.

The first Sulpicians arrived in New France in 1657. Soon after they made the island of Montreal their headquarters and there ministered to the spiritual needs of the colonists. Six years later the island was bestowed on them in seigniory by the commercial company of Montreal. Thereafter their activity was confined almost exclusively to their island seigniory. It was only in 1668 that the vicar apostolic found it advisable to nullify his provision of 1659 and to permit also the Sulpicians to found a mission among the Iroquois at the Bay of Kenté and to pave the way for another farther north among the Algonquins. That Talon had anything to do with this does not appear. It is known, however, that from the very beginning of his intendancy he manifested a friendly feeling toward the Sulpicians and the colonists of Montreal.[92] Only ten days after his return to Canada, he wrote to Colbert:

> M. l'abbé de Fénelon . . . has founded a mission among the Iroquois with whom he has wintered, and as much as he was able he has endeavored to furnish me with the knowledge of the places, which I could not have but from him. Another missionary of St. Sulpice had advanced farther than he in order to give me information of a river that I was seeking for the purpose of establishing communication from Lake Ontario to the lake of the Hurons. He has made a map of his voyage.[93]

[91] "*qui societatem peculiari benevolentia complectitur.*" Goswin Nickel to De Quen, December 16, 1658, quoted by Rochemonteix, II, 230, note 5.

[92] See Faillon, I, 161-164.

[93] Talon to Colbert, August 29, 1670, quoted by Faillon, III, 306. This is the map constructed and afterwards perfected by the Sulpician, M. de

What pleased Talon especially was the readiness with which the Sulpicians co-operated toward the solution of the so-called Indian problem. With financial aid accorded them by the Princess de Conti, they opened at Montreal a school for Indian children. To this school Talon referred when he wrote in his memoir:

> He [M. de Queylus] pushes his zeal further, by the care he takes to recover the Indian children who fall into the hands of the Iroquois, in order to bring them up—the boys in the seminary, the girls among persons of the same sex who are organized at Montreal into a sort of society for the purpose of teaching youth reading, writing and a little handicraft. . . . Four lines, indicating to M. de Queylus and his community the pleasure with which the king learns from my dispatches the zeal they evince for Christianity and his Majesty's service, would have a very good effect. He will perhaps have need of your authority to draw his income from France; he hopes you will grant him your protection in such cases as justice shall be on his side.[94]

For this friendly attitude of Talon the Sulpicians were indebted in great measure to Governor Courcelles. It was he who contended that their willingness to co-operate along the lines indicated in this letter should be for Talon an inducement to seek their help in solving the other problems that confronted the government, all the more so as their seigniory was already an important trade center and could be developed into a strong barrier against the Iroquois. Besides, on intimate terms with them was Robert Cavelier, better known in history as La Salle. He was a young man of broad vision and iron resolution. From the Sulpicians he had obtained a grant of land where he founded a settlement and was now acquiring great influence over the Iroquois. What the Jesuits were undertaking in the northwest might well be entrusted to the Sulpicians and La Salle for the southwest. Thus argued the governor, and the intendant had to admit that he was right. Accordingly, to establish closer relation between Montreal and Quebec and to enlist the interest of the Sulpicians in territorial

Galinée. It presented the first and best delineation of the western territories. The next year the Jesuits constructed a map of their Ottawa or western missions, which was eventually used by Jolliet and Marquette.

[94] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 69.

expansion, Talon conceived the idea of having his nephew appointed governor of Montreal.

After their failure to found a mission at Green Bay, which will be told later, the Sulpicians seem to have relinquished for a time their plan for westward expansion. Perhaps, after M. de Queylus left for France, they were less inclined to trespass on territory already occupied by the Jesuits. Certain it is that, shortly before and especially after Queylus's departure,[95] the Jesuits were endeavoring to cement closer bonds of friendship between themselves and the Sulpicians.[96] At all events, Talon did not employ the Sulpicians in the work of expansion, though it would seem that before his final departure from the colony he recommended them to Frontenac with the same earnestness with which Colbert instructed this new governor to protect them.[97] But soon after Frontenac became governor of New France, serious trouble arose between him and François Perrot, the governor of Montreal This was the reason why for some time he withdrew his favor from the Sulpicians and centered it on the Franciscans.

Ever since 1632 when the English restored Canada to the French and the Jesuits were selected by Richelieu as spiritual directors of the colony and mission, the Franciscans of the Province of Paris were longing to return to the land where they had for ten years (1615-1625) labored among the Indians with such success that in 1625 they invited the Jesuits to share their toils and merits. In 1650 the Franciscans would have seen their wish fulfilled. Prominent members of the Company of Hundred Associates strongly favored their return, remembering that six years before a request to that effect had seen sent to the home government by the settlers in New France. But M. Jean de Lauzon, president of the company, opposed the project, and when he became governor of the colony, on January 1, 1651, the Franciscans saw that further attempts would be futile.[98]

[95] He left in the company of Monsignor de Laval in November, 1671. See Gosselin, I, 646.

[96] See Rochemonteix, II, 397-398, note 1.

[97] Memoir to Frontenac, April 7, 1672, in Clement, III[2], 537.

[98] See Le Clercq, P. Christian, O. F. M., *First Establishment of the Faith in New France* (New York, 1881, Shea transl.), I, 319-375.

But the colonists continued to demand their return, so that when Talon had his first disagreements with the spiritual authorities, it naturally occurred to him that the re-establishment of the Franciscans in New France would mean, like the wider activity of the Sulpicians, a lessening and consequently a weakening of the influence of the Jesuits. When later at court he suggested this to Colbert, the latter agreed with him and proposed it to the king. Accordingly, on May 15, 1669, the minister could write to Monsignor de Laval:

> The king has decided to send four Franciscans to Canada, and his Majesty has instructed me to write to you that he doubts not that you will give them not only the power to administer the sacraments to all those who should need them and who should have recourse to them [the Franciscans], a thing that will tend to the relief of your clergy, but also that you will provide for their settlement on the property that belongs to them in that country.[99]

Two months later four Franciscans embarked with Talon at La Rochelle. But, as we have heard, a storm drove the vessel to the shores of Portugal. Early the following spring they, six in number, renewed the attempt, accompanied by Talon and François Perrot. This time the voyage was prosperous and on August 18, 1670, they landed at Quebec.

Although, if Talon was right, the return of the friars was "formerly not desired by the bishop and the Jesuits,"[100] neither showed any signs of displeasure when they finally arrived. In fact, the vicar apostolic seems personally never to have been opposed to their coming. On October 4, the feast of St. Francis,

[99] Colbert to De Laval, May 15, 1669, in Clement, III², 452.

[100] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, in Margry, Pierre, *Mémoires et Documents pour servir a l'histoire des origines françaises des pays d'Outremer* (Paris, 1879-1888), I, 89. The portion of Talon's memoir containing this passage is not among the extracts of the document in Brodhead, IX, 89-91. Rochemonteix (III, 123) claims that the friars returned "against the wish of Monsignor de Laval," but he gives no authority for the statement. That they returned "against" his wish is extremely doubtful. They owed their return to the king in the same way as the vicar apostolic owed to him the elevation of New France to the rank of a diocese with himself as its first bishop.

he dedicated the little chapel, which had been erected for them, and officiated at the first Holy Mass celebrated therein. In the fall of 1671, we know, he left for France. After his return, three years later, he approved what his representative had already done for the friars and soon entrusted other missions to them.

The Jesuits, too, welcomed the Franciscans with every show of cordiality. In a letter, accompanying the *Relation* for that year, Father Le Mercier writes:

> The Reverend Recollect [Franciscan] Fathers whom he [Talon] brought from France, as a new reinforcement of missionaries to cultivate this church, gave us an increase of joy and consolation. We received them as the first apostles of this country; and all the inhabitants of Quebec, in acknowledgement of the obligation felt toward them by the French colony,—which they accompanied hither upon its first establishment,—where delighted to see these good religious settled again in the same place where they were dwelling more that forty years ago, when the French were driven out of Canada by the English.[101]

But inwardly the Jesuits were of a different mind. After quoting at some length a letter which Bishop de Laval wrote to the Propaganda in October, 1676, Gosselin makes the following comment. "It is evident," he says, "by the reading of this letter, that the Jesuits had seriously feared for their missions, in the event of the return of the Franciscans to Canada. Despite all the confidence they placed in Monsignor de Laval, had they not reason to dread the presence of these new religious, who would perchance inconvenience them in their labors, while wishing to share their toils and merits?"[102] Moreover, a spirit of displeasure breathes from the confidential letter which on September 19, 1670, just one month after the arrival of the friars, the Jesuit Superior

[101] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 53, p. 27. Rochemonteix must have overlooked this statement when he discussed "the project of recalling to Canada the Franciscans, whom the English had driven away nearly forty years before" (III, 88). As if the Jesuits were not "driven away" on that occasion together with the Franciscans who had given them so cordial a welcome three years before. See Sagard Theodat, P. Gabriel, O. F. M., *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1866, Tross ed.), III, 781-793.

[102] Gosselin, II, 39-41.

addressed to the General of the Society. In this letter he wrote:

> Our Fathers are at peace with those not of the Society (*cum externis*): with the ecclesiastical powers, eminently (*insigniter*); with the secular powers, seemingly (*apparenter*); as far as lies in us, truly (*vere*); as far as lies in them, doubtfully (*dubie*): for they show that it is their desire to curb the Jesuits, who are too powerful in these parts and who, they say, have for forty years held sway in these parts. For this reason among others, it is believed the Franciscan Fathers have been recalled hither. Be that as it may, we have received those Fathers and have shown them and will show then every sort of courtesy; nor will we on that account have ourselves curbed, but assisted.[103]

This policy of outward courtesy and good will was observed, at least in the beginning. In this regard Talon has nothing to censure in his letter of November 10, 1670, so that Colbert could reply:

> I was very glad to learn that the clergy of New France are discharging all their functions regularly and I do not doubt at all that the Bishop of Petraea and the Jesuit Fathers gave a favorable reception to the Franciscan Fathers, because, acting on the same principle and with the view of bringing the light of the faith and of the gospel to the most distant countries of New France, this will be a help to animate all the more their zeal and to co-operate more earnestly toward the conversion of the savages and the increase of Christianity.[104]

That Colbert and Talon desired the services of the Franciscans as well as of the Sulpicians in order to diminish the authority and influence of the Jesuits is certain. As early as May 17, 1669, the intendant was told "to treat the Sulpicians and the Franciscans with consideration, in order to moderate the authority which the Jesuits are assuming."[105] Three years later, this same thing was impressed upon Frontenac, to whom Colbert wrote:

[103] Jerome Lalemant to Paul Oliva, September 19, 1670, quoted by Rochemonteix, III, 90, note 1.

[104] Colbert to Talon, February 11, 1671, in Clement, III², 517.

[105] Louis XIV to Talon, May 17, 1669. See Garneau, I, 587. The reader will recall that the Franciscans set sail with Talon in May, 1669. They were expected to arrive in New France the following summer.

> As the colony of Montreal, situated below that of Quebec, received much aid and consolation from the clergy of the seminary of St. Sulpice which is established there, it will be necessary for the Sieur de Frontenac to accord them all the protection that depends upon him, as also to the Franciscan Fathers who have established themselves at Quebec, these two bodies of clergy having to be supported in order to balance the authority which the Jesuit Fathers might assume to the prejudice of that of his Majesty.[106]

Regarding the Franciscans in particular, Talon wrote shortly after his return to New France that "the more there are of these religious, the more will the over much established authority of the first ecclesiastics be balanced."[107] Another reason why Colbert and Talon desired to have the friars in Canada was their project of territorial expansion. While they decided that the Jesuits were to be employed in the northwest, they considered the Franciscans better suited for the southwest, inasmuch as their Spanish brethren were conducting missions in New Mexico and would consequently be more welcome in that region than the Jesuits. That this was in the mind of the government at the time is indicated by the fact that the friars whom Frontenac eventually associated with La Salle and his enterprises were by birth and training Flemings and for that reason in a better position to pave the way to the possessions of the Spanish king.

The Sulpicians, as already indicated, preferred to take a negative stand in the unpleasant rivalry that ensued. As to the Franciscans, Talon's term of office expired before he could reasonably be expected to employ them in the work of territorial expansion. It remained for Frontenac to do this. The friars on their part assumed a very definite attitude; whereby they earned for themselves the favor and protection of Governor Frontenac, but at the same time the ill-will of the Jesuits and the censure, often quite severe, of later historians. Whatever opinion one may hold concerning their subsequent activity in New France, no fair and objective verdict is possible without bearing in mind that France

[106] Memoir to Frontenac, April 7, 1672, in Clement, III², 537.

[107] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, in Margry, I, 90. Brodhead (IX, 60) omits this portion of Talon's letter.

was then in a transition period when minds were divided not merely on the abstract principle regarding the relation between Church and State, but especially on the concrete application of this principle. Louis XIV and his representatives in New France were sailing with the current of religion and politics which the Protestant upheaval of the sixteenth century had deflected from the course it kept during the Middle Ages and which it turned into the course it is keeping to-day. Among those who in New France thought it their duty to pull against stream were Bishop de Laval and the Jesuits. Theirs was a desperate struggle, and they faced the situation bravely. For this they deserve admiration. But whether one can accord them also unconditional approval is another question. Looking at the problem now, after a lapse of two and a half centuries, one can not help asking whether it would not have been more practical to let things take their course and, like the Franciscans, renouncing authority and influence in civil affairs, consecrate one's best efforts to the spiritual uplifting of the white settlers and native Indians. Surely, not all that the Franciscans did was wrong, no more than all that the Jesuits did was right. Among the former were saintly men who thought they were doing right, just as among the latter there were some who vied with Bishop de Laval for personal sanctity but in their official actions were not always prompted by the highest motives.

The third and more outstanding sphere of Talon's activity during his second term of office—territorial expansion—is closely connected with the old problem of the northern mystery and the new problem of the "Great Water" in the west. For this reason, his efforts to extend the territorial limits of New France and to establish temporal authority in the new territories will be more properly treated in the next chapter. Suffice it here to say that the ultimate motive of what Talon undertook in this regard was more or less a paving of the way for the first exploration of the "Great Water" as a possible solution of the northern mystery. He rightly understood that the solution of this problem by the civil government, not less interested therein than the missionaries, was of paramount importance for the material development and

progress of the colony. As we shall see, before undertaking to explore the great river in the west, Talon had two preliminary problems to solve: the evident design of the Jesuits to gain control of the western regions and the rumored efforts of the English to penetrate in the same direction.

From the interest Talon manifested in the project of territorial expansion one might conclude that he was gradually becoming reconciled with his position. But such was not the case. Outwardly his attitude toward the Jesuits had become more friendly. But it was precisely this more than anything else that widened the breach between him and Governor Courcelles. Of this the intendant informed Colbert who in his next letter told Talon that he was "writing to M. de Courcelles regarding the conduct he should observe." He assured Talon that the governor "will listen willingly to the opinions which you will give him on what you believe to be in conformity with the intentions and the general service of the king." [108]

In some matters Courcelles was not following his instructions. Toward the vicar apostolic and the Jesuits he was still manifesting an attitude that openly bespoke the suspicions he entertained regarding their projects and policies. We know how he ignored Monsignor de Laval when the latter failed to attend the meetings of the sovereign council. Disagreement between him and Talon was caused by the expedition to Lake Ontario. The intendant had formerly favored and even advocated the project. Shortly after his return from France he wrote to the king, saying he was convinced "that if an establishment be formed on Lake Ontario, which I designed to make before my departure for France, the Iroquois will be more easily kept, with one hundred men, in order, respect, and dread." [109] He event went so far as to request blank commissions "to authorize persons to command at the two posts to be erected at the north and south of that lake," and asked further that the governor be ordered "to afford me all the assistance of which I shall stand in need to render this design successful." [110] Now when Courcelles, thinking the time for

[108] Colbert to Talon, February 11, 1671, in Clement, III[2], 518.
[109] Memoir of Talon, dated October 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 64.
[110] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

action had come, was willing to render this assistance, Talon seemed little inclined to co-operate. Why this change? the governor asked himself. Was it because a trading post and a fort at Cataraqui, the easternmost extremity of Lake Ontario, would displease the Jesuits? Or perhaps Talon was under the influence of Montreal, where his nephew was now governor. As Rochemonteix observes, with Montreal as center, "illicit trade was going on unperceived; at least, the authority was shutting his eyes and letting it go on."[111] Whether Talon connived at this or whether he was personally interested is not known. Significant is the fact, however, that only a month after writing the first part of his memoir, he advocated an invasion into the Iroquois country[112] instead of urging the erection of a fort at Lake Ontario as a defensive measure against them. But Courcelles was all along opposed to attacking the formidable Iroquois. His policy was to secure their allegiance peacefully, by occupying Cataraqui not so much as a military fort as rather in the shape of a trading post. This procedure, he contended, would prevent the Iroquois from diverting the Ottawa trade to the English, would counteract the control of it which the Jesuits were acquiring through their new establishments in the northwest, and would preserve peace with the Iroquois whom he hoped to convince that the post on Lake Ontario would be to their own advantage.

Courcelles as well as Talon laid this matter before Colbert, and both gained their point, though in a negative way. Under date of March 11, 1671, the minister informed the governor[113] that "since you do not find it convenient to undertake the journey which the King referred to you, but which was in no manner compulsory, you may dispense therewith." But neither was he to triumph over the intendant. "As for your proposal," Colbert continued, "to send some companies hence to repair to the outlet of Lake Ontario and prevent the incursions which the Iroquois might make on the other Indian nations under the king's protection, his Majesty does not consider it necessary for the good

[111] Rochemonteix, III, 105.

[112] Memoir of Talon, dated November 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 64.

[113] Namely, as a result of Talon's memoir.

of his service." [114] The minister concludes, however, by saying that the king left the matter to the good judgment of the governor and the intendant. The two colonial officials doubtless discussed the affair again, but they could come to no agreement. Meanwhile, the Iroquois peril was becoming more serious; wherefore, independently of Talon, the governor set out with five hundred men for Lake Ontario.

Broken in health and spirit, Courcelles returned to Quebec about the middle of June. To all appearances, he immediately wrote to Colbert and asked for his discharge. The twofold fact that the governor had resigned and that his successor would be Count de Frontenac was certainly known to Talon the following October when he himself officially transmitted his resignation to Colbert. On January 25, 1672, his secretary Patoulet informed Colbert that "M. Talon requests the king above all things to grant him his discharge or else to let him alone in this country." [115] On the question of Talon's resignation Clement observes that the intendant "had some misunderstandings with M. de Courcelles, the predecessor of M. de Frontenac, and feared he would not be able to agree any better with the latter. This it was," Clement adds, "that induced him to ask for his discharge." [116] The fact is, however, Talon's second term of office was not to extend beyond two years. This he himself indicates in his memoir of September 10, 1670. "His Majesty," he writes, "will probably have no news of them [the expeditions just sent out] before two years from this, and when I shall return to France." [117] It would seem then that his resignation, offered on October 31, 1671, was merely an official act in accordance with a previous provision.

The career of Courcelles and Talon in New France was essentially an experiment and marked a transition from the mission period to the colonial period of Canadian history. Louis XIV and Colbert were well satisfied with what had so far been achieved. The time was now come, they thought, to take a further step

[114] Colbert to Courcelles, March 11, 1671, in Brodhead, IX, 70-71.

[115] Patoulet to Colbert, January 25, 1672, quoted by Garneau, I, 264, note 127.

[116] Clement, III[2], 539, note 2.

[117] Memoir of Talon, dated October 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 64.

toward the goal they had set themselves. Temporal authority must henceforth be centered in one man, a royal governor in the full sense of the term, whose activity should no longer be embarrassed by a division of powers. The sovereign council would remain in force, but the king would henceforth appoint its members, especially since he would have to yield and allow New France to become a diocese independent of the Archbishop of Rouen. Furthermore, the external affairs of the colony, particularly relations with the English, demanded immediate attention and energetic action. To carry on and perfect what Talon had begun, a man was needed who was both a shrewd diplomat and an aggressive soldier, not only mentally alert but also physically robust, stubborn in the face of opposition and stern as to matters of discipline, passionately devoted to the king and ready to promote the king's interests at all hazards. Such a man Louis XIV thought he had found in the tried soldier and gallant courtier Louis de Buade, Comte de Palnau et Frontenac. Him he appointed governor of New France and on April 7, 1672, put his signature to the lengthy instructions which had been drawn up to direct the count in his new career.[118]

Two months later, on June 4, Colbert informed Talon that his secretary was bringing the discharge he had asked for. There was to be no break, however, in the policy pursued since 1665. For this reason the minister told the out-going intendant that he should remain in Canada as long as possible, "in order that you may be able to give all the necessary orders and even control their execution for some time by your presence."[119] As Lorin puts it, Talon "complied with the intentions of the minister by initiating Frontenac in the traditions of his government already established."[120] He remained in New France till about the middle of November and then, accompanied by Courcelles, departed for France.[121] That he had the intention of eventually returning to

[118] Memoir to Frontenac, April 7, 1672, in Clement, III², 533-538.

[119] Colbert to Talon, June 4, 1672, in Clement, III², 539-540.

[120] Lorin, p. 31.

[121] On November 3, 1672, Courcelles wrote to the Sulpicians at Montreal. In this letter he said "we hope to leave Sunday morning." See Faillon,

the colony appears from a memoir of M. de la Chesnaye, a prominent merchant of Quebec. In this memoir, written in 1676, the writer says that Talon "has not returned, although he had promised it to his friends."[122]

The Jesuit Superior at the time of Courcelles's and Talon's departure, Claude Dablon, had been witness of all that transpired since 1665. Hence the manner in which he records their departure is intertesting. In the letter which he wrote to the Provincial in Paris when he sent the *Relation* for 1672, he said:

> We cannot without some grief watch the vessels set sail from our roadstead, since they bear away, in the persons of Monsieur de Courcelles and Monsieur Talon, what was most precious to us. We shall ever remember the former for having so effectively reduced the Iroquois to submission, and we shall ever wish for the latter's return to give the finishing stroke to the undertakings begun by him so greatly for the benefit of this country.
>
> These losses would be more keenly felt by us were they not happily repaired by the coming of Monsieur the Count de Frontenac, our new Governor, whom the king has chosen to carry forward the noble plans formed by his Majesty for New France.[123]

If Dablon really meant what he wrote, his hopes for the future were soon to meet with bitter disappointment. Historians are right when they claim that Frontenac arrived in New France firmly bent on establishing temporal authority over the spiritual, and strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits whom he regarded as the actual holders of both. The interviews he held with Talon before the latter's departure certainly did not tend to undo these prejudices. In some instances Frontenac assuredly overstepped his powers; in others he should have shown greater discretion, tolerance, and sympathy. On the other hand, it can not be denied that he was as sincerely enthusiastic for the prosperity of New France as Talon had been and that he was just as capable of

III, 417, note. But for some reason the departure was delayed, since on November 13 Talon's signature appears on a land grant. See Lorin, p. 31.

[122] "Memoire de M. de la Chesnaye sur le Canada, 1676," in *Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, I, 252.

[123] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 235.

promoting it. Even Rochemonteix admits that "despite his great faults which so grievously marred his administration from 1672 to 1682, Frontenac possessed a high degree of intelligence and military valor." According to the same writer, "under the difficult circumstances that prevailed in the colony, the king could not confide the destinies to a man more firm, better experienced in war, better informed of the needs of the country, better fitted to manage the mind of the savages." [124]

On his arrival in France, Talon was appointed first chamberlain to the king and secretary of the cabinet, besides being captain of the castle of Mariemont.[125] He spent much time at court and in government circles. His interest in the colony on the banks of the St. Lawrence never waned. From afar he watched the bitter conflict that Frontenac stirred up when attempting to achieve what he himself, as intendant, had sought to accomplish for seven years. He saw how Louis XIV, after the Dutch War, was denying Colbert the favor and trust he had previously accorded him; how consequently Frontenac, the stern and energetic governor of New France, was having the ground cut from under him; how the king, once so aggressive and steadfast, was beginning to weaken; and how he finally yielded to pressure and deposed the governor. It would seem that, while this conflict was coming to a head, Talon was planning to keep the promise he had made his friends before leaving Canada. Early in 1681 he applied to the king for permission to return to the colony, proposing to found a general hospital there. About the same time it was rumored in Paris that Talon would be reappointed intendant or perhaps even become governor of New France. This we learn from a series of letters that the vicar-general of Quebec, M. de Dudouyt, who was then in Paris, addressed to Bishop de Laval.[126] But Talon's return was not desired and means were found to prevent it. To quote Salone, "the same men who had forced him to leave, rendered his return impossible. Talon is definitely vanquished by M. de Laval and the Jesuits." [127] Certain it is, from their standpoint Talon's reappearance on the scene, in

[124] Rochemonteix, III, 236.
[125] Chapais, p. 465.
[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 470-477.
[127] Salone, p. 224.

whatever capacity, would not have improved matters. In fact, it would have defeated the very purpose they contemplated and in 1682 accomplished—the deposal of Frontenac and appointment of M. de la Barre, a man why by reason of his advanced age, narrow vision, selfish disposition, irascible temper, and lack of experience was wholly unequal to the arduous and perplexing problems that for twenty years taxed the energy and wit of the "Great Intendant" Talon and of the "Iron Governor" Frontenac.

CHAPTER II

Territorial Expansion and the Mississippi River

The political and social troubles that agitated France and England during the second half of the sixteenth century may be regarded as perhaps the main reason why the colonization of their respective claims in North America was delayed. Had conditions in these countries been as favorable as they were in Spain, the St. Lawrence River basin and the Atlantic seaboard would doubtless have been colonized with the same vigor and for the same purpose as the peninsula of Florida was occupied by Spain and Spanish dominion extended to the lands north and northwest of Mexico.

Despite the failure of the English and the French to colonize the territories which they claimed by right of discovery, it would be erroneous to imagine that during this half-century they took no interest in the problem of the northern mystery. Most active in attempting to solve the problem was England. Here a queen held the reins of government whose political views and colonial projects were in a way similar to those of the French monarch Louis XIV a century later. If in their speculations regarding the northern mystery the English explorers failed to consider the Rio del Espíritu Santo, it was not because they were unconscious of the river's existence and location, but because the maps of their day traced the river from north to south, whereas what the explorers sought was a waterway that conducted from east to west. The immediate object of their search was the fabulous strait of Anian which, according to the maps, connected the Atlantic with the Pacific.[1] To find this strait[2] Martin Frobisher undertook three

[1] The strait of Anian was traced for the first time on Zaltieri's map of 1566. It is also on the maps of Mercator (1569) and Ortelius (1670).

[2] For a detailed and critical account of the English expeditions of this period we refer the reader to Manhart, George Born, *The English Search for a Northwest Passage in the Time of Queen Elizabeth* (Philadelphia, 1924).

voyages (1576, 1577, 1578), the second of which was sponsored by the Company of Cathay. At the same time Francis Drake, after raiding Spanish settlements on the coast of Peru, sailed up the Pacific, discovered what is now Drake's Bay, then crossed the Pacific, passed through the Indian Ocean, rounded the extremity of Africa, and in November, 1580, reappeared in England where the report was spread that he had returned through the strait of Anian. As a matter of fact, he was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. In the hope of reaching the strait of Anian, John Davis headed three voyages (1585, 1586, 1587) to the northern continent, on the first of which he discovered the strait that perpetuates his name. The problem of the northern mystery was responsible also for the attempt of Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 to found a colony on the shores of Newfoundland. Although, as Manhart points out, the four expeditions (1584, 1585, 1587, 1591) of Walter Raleigh to Virginia were not sent out for the purpose of solving this problem,[3] yet it is known that Raleigh's agents in Virginia were discussing the possibility of reaching the South Sea by means of one of the rivers. Thus, shortly before the return of the surviving colonists to England, Ralph Lane contemplated the exploration of the Roanoke River. "For this river of Moratico promises great things," he wrote, "and by the opinion of M. Hariots the head of it by the description of the country, either riseth from the Bay of Mexico, or els from very neere unto the same, that openeth out into the South Sea."[4] Meanwhile, in 1586, Thomas Cavendish set out to repeat the venture of Francis Drake. But his disappointment must have been great when he failed to locate the strait of Anian. It was mainly these expeditions of Drake and Cavendish that filled Spain with alarm.[5] Less uneasy regarding the Atlantic coast, due to the expedition of Gómez and the expulsion of the French from Florida, the Spanish government was less accurately informed regarding the Pacific coast and therefore realized that the

[3] Manhart, p. 100.

[4] Burrage, Henry S., *Early English and French Voyages, 1534-1608* in *Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, 1906), p. 258. See also Manhart, p. 101.

[5] See Bolton-Marshall, p. 70.

ventures of the English in this region demanded immediate attention. Accordingly, steps were taken to occupy New Mexico and the Gulf of California, while Sebastián Cermeño in 1595 and Sabastián Vizcaíno in 1602 were commissioned to explore the North-Pacific coast.

It would seem that the strenuous efforts made by the French to plant a colony on the Florida coast (1562-1564) were in a measure actuated by the same motive that impelled Spain to prevent it—the possibility of finding a trans-continental waterway. The Frenchman Ribaut as well of the Spaniard Avilés regarded St. John's River as a possible means of reaching the South Sea. From the Indians Ribaut learned that after sailing twenty days up this stream, he would come to Cíbola, where he knew the Spaniards had been and from where he supposed he would be able to reach the Pacific.[6] But in the struggle over Florida the Spaniards triumphed and the land remained in their possession. It may have been Verrazano's delineation of the North American continent that diverted the attention of the French from Florida. Though Spain and England knew better, France seems to have cherished the opinion that Verrazano was right when he traced the continent as comprising two land sections connected by an isthmus near present Virginia and bounded on the west by what was known as the Sea of Verrazano. This would explain why no further efforts were made by the French to settle in Florida. Their interests lay to the north in the St. Lawrence region. Ribaut's is perhaps the only reference by a Frenchman, during the second half of the sixteenth century, to the problem of the northern mystery. In this respect the French were not nearly as active, though perhaps just as interested, as the English.

Early in the seventeenth century, while the Spaniards were penetrating into the northern interior, the problem of finding an all-water route across the continent was in large measure the reason why the French and English began to fix their claim to North American territory by actual occupation—the former on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the latter on the Atlantic seaboard.

[6] See Lowery, Woodbury, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States, Florida, 1562-1574* (New York, 1911), pp. 33, 212, 258, 462.

It is significant that the three powers who were destined to become the principal rivals for territorial possession and commercial advantages in North America, founded their respective centers of operation almost simultaneously: England, the Jamestown settlement, in 1607; France, that of Quebec, in 1608; and Spain, that of Santa Fé, in 1609.[7] A few years later, having thrown off Spanish sovereignty, Holland settled on the Atlantic coast, determined to get a share of the territory in North America and to find the passage that led to the South Sea. The inevitable result was intense rivalry between England, France, and Holland, while Spain sat back and watched the outcome. Greatly weakened as a sea power by the loss of the Armada in 1588, she found this conflict in the north to her advantage. It gave her leisure to attend more earnestly to her possessions in the south, especially to develop their material resources and thereby not only amass immense riches from them but also secure them against foreign invasion.

At the root of the Anglo-French-Dutch rivalry lay to some extent the problem of the northern mystery. To establish a claim to the Hudson Bay region as a possible opening to the South Sea, England prepared the way by conquering Acadia in 1654 and dislodging the Dutch from the New Netherlands ten years later. France saw the peril and planned to meet it. If her possessions on the St. Lawrence were to acquire what she deemed their natural limits and if she was to secure the advantage of a passage to China, it would be necessary for her to anticipate England's design by solving as soon as feasible the new problem of the "Great Water" in the west. In this way the solution of the northern mystery was as much the cause of the French exploration as of the Spanish discovery of the Mississippi River. The ambition of Spain to find and control an all-water route across the continent resulted in the discovery of the great river, and this discovery led to the occupation of Florida as also of the lands north and northwest of Mexico. Similarly, the eagerness of France to achieve the same end drew her attention to the same river, while

[7] The first settlement by Juan de Oñate, in 1598, was at San Juan, some forty miles north of Santa Fé.

her determination to anticipate England as well as the Jesuits in the occupation of the western region occasioned the first exploration of the river by Louis Jolliet.

We have seen in the preceding chapter how long-neglected Canada was brought under the notice of Louis XIV and his colonial minister. As Boucher's description of the country whetted the king's appetite for its material wealth, so the report of ex-Governor d'Avagour awakened in his mind the dream of a vast colonial empire in North America. D'Avagour, whose career in New France was darkened by serious quarrels with the spiritual authority, doubtless rejoiced when the king deposed him. But despite these quarrels, perhaps even on their account, the ex-governor manifested in his reports and recommendations a glowing enthusiasm for New France and a keen interest in its material development. In the warmest terms he pictured "the beauty and fertility both of the waters and of the banks of this great river [St. Lawrence], as well as the importance, likewise, of the port of Quebec," declaring this town to be "the mouth of the finest and greatest state in the world." But to the south were the rival nations, Holland and England; wherefore he insisted "that it is of importance to preserve henceforward the secret of the designs of this country, because of the heretics [8] who are already established there, and who, without doubt, will apprehend being one day driven therefrom." As a preliminary step to territorial expansion, he contended, it would be necessary to sustain and fortify Quebec which "must be regarded as the keystone of ten provinces," while these ten provinces would in turn prove "the security of one hundred others. In a word, should the king conclude to establish these ten provinces, he may consider himself master of America and all the heretics will remain there only so long as shall please him." D'Avagour judged an army of three thousand efficient men would suffice to disperse the hostile Iroquois, to check the advancing Dutch and English, and to establish toward the south "a communication with the sea, which is not subject to be frozen as in these regions" of New France. The sea to which he referred was apparently Lake Michigan, then known as the second

[8] He meant the Protestant Dutch, Swedes, and English.

lake of the Hurons and "the waters of which," he said, "it is believed flow into New Spain." [9]

This report of the ex-governor and the further recommendation he offered shortly after at court were directly responsible for Louis XIV's project and Colbert's ambition to convert North America into a vast French sovereignty. Immense revenues would pour into the royal treasury, as great as those which Spain was amassing from her New World possessions, while the control of a waterway across the continent would secure for France a commercial advantage that her rivals in Europe had long been seeking. Besides, the time would come when a Bourbon would occupy the Spanish throne and in this manner a large share of Spain's colonial revenues become available for the aggrandizement of France on the European continent.

The project of territorial expansion was not even hinted at in the instructions drawn up for Talon in 1665. As D'Avagour had intimated, the French design would have to remain a secret until suitable time for action should arrive. That Talon had been told of the king's huge project is plain from what occurred soon after he assumed the intendancy of New France. Hardly had he arrived in the colony when he proposed that its limits ought to extend southward as far as Florida.[10] Trusting that the political situation in Europe would in time adjust itself to his royal master's design, Talon proceeded to the internal development of the colony, as related in the preceding chapter. More and more the conviction grew on him that by its climate and general topography New France was better adapted to trade and commerce than to agricultural and industrial pursuits. He saw also how the English, since their acquisition of the Dutch New Netherlands, were seeking more earnesly than ever to extend their commercial activities and to revive Iroquois hostility against the French. Just recently, he argued, they had enlisted the service of two French traders, Chouart and Radisson; even now they were forming the Hudson Bay Company and negotiating with Spain for a treaty in which

[9] Memoir of D'Avagour, dated at Gaspé, August 4, 1663, in Brodhead. IX, 13-17.

[10] See Garneau, I, 262.

Florida lands were concerned. Again, in the very year of his arrival in New France, the Jesuits began to penetrate westward and in the course of three years they had established themselves at the most important trade centers of the Great Lakes region. What, besides the conversion of the Indians, attracted them to the west was the same that drew the attention of the English, especially of the southern colonies, in that direction—the problem of the " Great Water " which, to judge from Indian reports, offered passage to the South Sea.

While exploring the St. Lawrence valley, Champlain had heard repeatedly from the natives that in the west was a body of water that led to China and the Moluccas.[11] In 1621, seconded by the Franciscans and by the principal settlers at Quebec, Champlain drew up a petition to the king, in which he referred to New France as " that land which promises, by the continuation of former explorations, a favorable passage to go to China." [12] On his map, constructed in 1632, he shows what information he had already gained concerning the west. Besides " Lac St. Louis " [Lake Ontario] and " Mer Douce" [Lake Erie], he places farthest west what he names " Grand Lac " [Lake Michigan?]. From this lake he traces a river as coming from the south, naming it " Great River." [13] The expedition of Jean Nicolet brought new light on the problem. He was sent by Champlain to visit the " People of the Sea." The winter of 1634 found this explorer among the Winnebagos on the Fox River, near the present city of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Returning to Quebec, Nicolet reported that a voyage of three more days would have brought him to what the Indians called the " Great Water." After the death of Champlain, scientific exploration in the west was neglected. Fur traders, however, and the Jesuit missionaries kept up constant communication with the western tribes, who made regular visits from their distant homes to Montreal and other trading posts on the St. Lawrence and on the shores of Lake Ontario and

[11] See Lescarbot's *La Conversion des Sauvages, 1610* in *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 1, pp. 59-113.

[12] For this petition see Le Clercq, I, 164-176.

[13] " *Grand riviere qui vient du midy*—Great river which comes from the south." For this map see Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 142-143.

Georgian Bay. From them information was obtained regarding the unexplored west. Either these reports were vague or the Jesuits misunderstood the natives; for in 1654 the *Relation* still designated Nicolet's "Great Water" as a lake, adding that "it is only nine days' journey from this great lake to the sea separating America from China."[14] Six years later, however, the *Relation* spoke of "a beautiful river, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, to our great St. Lawrence. Up its banks they found the great nation of the Alimiwec, which gave them a very kind reception."[15] Here we have most probably an allusion to the Mississippi River and the Illinois Indians residing on its banks. It is likewise very probable that the persons referred to in this *Relation* are Chouart and Radisson. Whether these two French explorers, during their extended wanderings in the west, actually reached the Mississippi is a much disputed question. Certain it is, however, that they heard of a "forked river," so designated by them from the fact that, as Radisson wrote, "it has 2 branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runns towards Mexico, by the tokens they [the Indians] gave us."[16]

Exploration in the west received a new impetus in 1659 when Monsignor de Laval placed the Jesuits in exclusive charge of the Indian missions. In the summer of 1660 one of their number, René Ménard, left Montreal with a flotilla of Indian traders. About nine months later he was at Chequamegon Bay.[17] From here, in July, 1661, he set out for a Huron village situated on the Black River which empties into the Mississippi.[18] Had Ménard survived this expedition, he would have had much to say in his next report to Quebec concerning the great river, in the vicinity of which he came to so untimely an end. There can be

[14] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 41, p. 185.

[15] *Id.*, vol. 45, p. 235.

[16] Kellogg, Louise Phelps, *Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1634-1699* in *Original Narratives of Early American History* Series (New York, 1917), p. 61.

[17] It was on this journey that the missionary lost his way in the forest and was never heard of again.

[18] See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 18, pp. 256-257, note 5.

little doubt that he heard of the stream, if he did not in fact gaze on its mighty expanse.

Meanwhile the attention of the Jesuits was directed also to the Spanish southwest. From a band of Iroquois they heard of "a country which has none of the severities of our winters, but enjoys a climate that is always temperate." The Indian villages "are situated along a beautiful river [19] which serves to carry the people down to the great lake (for so they call the sea), where they trade with Europeans who pray as we do, and use rosaries, as well as bells for calling to prayers. According to the description given us," the *Relation* continues, "we judge them to be Spaniards. That sea is doubtless either the Bay of St. Esprit [20] in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida; or else the Vermillion Sea,[21] on the coast of New Granada, in the great South Sea." [22]

This report created a new problem for the French: what connection was there between the "Great Water" or lake that existed in the west and the beautiful river that perhaps led to the Gulf of Mexico? The men to whom the French government was greatly indebted for information that eventually helped to solve the problem were the Jesuit missionaries. At the same time, however, it is but just to say that, concerning the river existing south of the Great Lakes, knowledge was obtained principally from the Iroquois through the Sulpicians and La Salle. Before sketching the various expeditions which the French government undertook to solve this new problem, it will be well to show how the Jesuits and the English almost simultaneously sought new lands in the west; for, as we shall see, it was precisely these two circumstances that prompted the French during Talon's second term to pursue with greatest vigor the project of territorial expansion.

After the failure of Ménard to found a mission in the west, another Jesuit missionary, Claude Allouez, was entrusted with the distant Ottawa tribes. He it was who within a short time learned

[19] The Ohio-Mississippi.

[20] The Bahia del Espíritu Santo of the Spaniards.

[21] The Spanish Mar Bermejo (Gulf of California).

[22] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 47, pp. 145-147.

from the Indians that the "Great Water" was a river and that its Indian name was "Messipi." Where it emptied the Indians could not tell him; but the missionary concluded that it flowed probably toward Virginia. In August, 1665, he was permitted by his Superior to join a band of Indian traders who had come to Montreal and were now returning to their homes in the west. After a long journey, during which the heroic missionary suffered great hardships and privations, he at last arrived at Chequamegon Bay. Here he met not only Hurons and Ottawas, but many other tribes from distant lands. The following spring he had occasion to question Potawatomi, Foxes, and Illinois from the south as also Dakotas or Sioux from the west. The Hurons told him of the great river to which they had fled from the invading Iroquois and where they until recently had been residing. Similar information he obtained from the Illinois who for the same reason as the Hurons had gone to the west bank of the great river. The Dakotas, too, could tell him about the stream, for their habitat lay in the region where it took its rise. Hence in his report from Chequamegon Bay in 1667, Allouez was able to inform his Superior that the country of the Illinois is "more than sixty leagues hence toward the south, beyond a great river—which, as well as I can conjecture, empties into the sea somewhere near Virginia;" furthermore, that "these [Dakotas] are people who dwell to the west of this place toward the great river named Messipi. They are forty or fifty leagues from this place, in a country of prairies, rich in all kinds of game." [23]

In the fall of 1668, another Jesuit, James Marquette, was placed in charge of the newly founded mission at Sault Sainte-Marie. A few months later, Allouez arrived there from his mission at Chequamegon Bay and doubtless told Marquette all he had heard regarding the great stream. About the same time, a Shawnee Indian from the far south directed Marquette's attention to "the South Sea, from which his village was distant only five days' journey—near a great river, which, coming from the Islinois, discharges its waters into that sea." [24] According to Blair, we

[23] *Id.*, vol. 51, pp. 47, 53.

[24] La Potherie, Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville De, *Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Cleveland, 1911, Blair transl.), I, p. 336.

have here "a reference to the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River—then, however, supposed to flow into the Pacific Ocean." [25] Kellogg thinks that "the 'South Sea' of the Shawnee Indian was either the South Atlantic or the Gulf of Mexico;" and adds that "Marquette understood him to mean the 'South Sea' or the Pacific Ocean, still cherishing the hope that the great river might become the route *through* North America." [26]

The Jesuit Superior at Quebec, Francis le Mercier, realized the importance of the new Western mission field and the difficulty of supervising it from distant Quebec. For this reason, in the summer of 1669, he appointed the veteran missionary Claude Dablon to act as immediate Superior of all the Ottawa missions and to make Sault Sainte-Marie his headquarters. Hence when Allouez left Quebec to return to the west, he was accompanied by Dablon. Having arrived at Sault Saint-Marie and studied the situation of the mission field, the new Superior made two important changes. Marquette was sent to Chequamegon Bay and Allouez was entrusted with the opening of missions at Green Bay.

By May, 1670, Allouez had begun four missions in the Green Bay region and on the twentieth of that month set out for Sault Sainte-Marie.[27] Here he imparted his experiences to his immediate Superior and doubtless invited him to visit the new field and inspect the work so far accomplished. Dablon accepted the invitation and in the summer of 1670 accompanied Allouez to Green Bay. What he learned there regarding the great river is recorded in the letter which on his return he addressed to the Superior-General at Quebec. After describing the country and the beginnings made by Allouez, he continues:

> At some days' journey from the Mission of Saint Francis Xavier,[28] which is at the Baye des Puans, is found a great river, more than a league in width. This coming from the regions of the north, flows toward the south—and to such a

[25] *Id.*, I, p. 336, note 224.

[26] Kellogg, Louise Phelps, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* (Madison, 1925), p. 158, note 36.

[27] Dablon, recently appointed Superior of the Ottawa missions, had summoned him. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, p. 241.

[28] By that name Green Bay was always known to the French.

distance that the savages who have navigated it, in going to seek for enemies to fight with, after a good many days' journey have not found its mouth, which can be only toward the Sea of Florida or that of California.[29] Mention will be made hereafter of a very considerable nation living in the direction of that river, and of the journey we hope to make thither this year, to carry the faith there, and at the same time, gain knowledge of these new countries. In addition, we are also assured by the report of a number of other savages whose depositions agree very well, that at two hundred leagues from the Mission of Saint Esprit among the Ottawas, toward the west, there is the Western Sea, to which one descends by another river which is reached by an eight days' journey from the said mission, and which goes and comes far inland—for so the savages designate the ebb and flow of the sea; and one of them declares that he has seen our sailing vessels.

After these two seas, that of the South and that of the West, only that of the North is wanting to make us surrounded by them on all sides; and when this has been discovered, these advantages will be derived from it—that it will be possible to pass from the North Sea to that of the South or to that of the West; and secondly, as this Western Sea can only be the Japan Sea, it would be possible to facilitate the passage thither, and afterward commerce.[30]

In the meantime, Marquette was making inquiries at Chequamegon Bay. In his letter to the Superior-General at Quebec he wrote:

When the Illinois come to la Pointe,[31] they cross a great river which is nearly a league in width, flows from north to south, and to such a distance that the Illinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not yet heard any mention of its mouth. They simply know that there are some very large nations lower down than themselves, some of whom, toward the east-southeast of their country, raise two crops of Indian corn in a year. A nation that they call Chaouanou[32] came to them last summer; and this young man who has been given me, and is teaching me the language, saw them.[33]

[29] Gulf of Mexico and Gulf of California, respectively.

[30] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, pp. 137-139.

[31] i. e., La Pointe de Saint Esprit, the trading post near the mission of that name at Chequamegon Bay.

[32] These are the Shawnees.

[33] Was this perhaps the same Shawnee Indian whom Marquette had met at Sault Sainte-Marie the preceding summer?

> They are laden with glass beads, which shows that they have communication with Europeans. They had come overland a journey of nearly thirty days, before reaching this country. It is hard to believe that that great river discharges its waters in Virginia,[34] and we think it has its mouth in California. If the savages who promise to make me a canoe do not break their word to me, we shall explore this river as far as we can, with a Frenchman and this young man who was given me, who knows some of those languages and has a facility for learning the others. We shall visit the nations dwelling there, in order to open the passage to such of our Fathers [35] as have been waiting this good fortune for so long a time. This discovery will give us full knowledge either of the South Sea or of the Western Sea.
>
> Six or seven days' journey below the Illinois, there is another great river,[36] on which live some very powerful nations, who use wooden canoes; of them we can write nothing else until next year—if God grant us the grace to conduct us thither.[37]

On the way back to Sault Sainte-Marie, Dablon tarried several months at the island of Michillimackinac [38] for the purpose of beginning a mission at that place. While he was engaged in this work, two events occurred that for a time delayed the project of exploration which he had planned with Allouez and Marquette. To all appearances, Dablon was still at the island when the news arrived that he had been appointed Superior-General of all the Jesuit missions in New France. Hardly had he left for Quebec to take over his new office, when Marquette with his Ottawa and Huron converts arrived at Sault Sainte-Marie. A feud had broken out at Chequamegon Bay between these Indians and the "nations of the west," known to them as the Nadouessi or Sioux. In their fear the Ottawas and Hurons fled from Chequamegon Bay

[34] As Allouez thought and told Marquette.

[35] In his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley* (Redfield, 1852), Shea translates more correctly, "to so many of our Fathers—*à tant de nos Pères*" (p. lv). Is Marquette here referring to the Jesuits in Sonora and Sinaloa? The above-quoted work of John Gilmary Shea will hereafter be cited as *Discovery and Exploration.*

[36] Namely, the Ohio.

[37] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, pp. 187-191.

[38] Now Mackinaw Island.

and Marquette could do nothing but accompany them. Dablon had realized the importance of the island of Michillimackinac; and it was doubtless by orders from Quebec that Marquette now took his Indians [39] to this island and joined them to the mission which Dablon had founded there a few months before. Meanwhile, at Green Bay, Allouez continued his labors among the natives. He was assisted by a fellow Jesuit, Louis André. The latter visited the Indian villages along the shores of the bay, thereby allowing his indefatigable confrère to penetrate farther westward and learn more about the great river which he not less than Marquette was eager to explore.

Whether during these wanderings Allouez actually reached the Mississippi is not certain.[40] What he learned, however, was the exact name of the stream and greater certainty as to its true course. This appears from the *Relation* for 1671, written at a time when Talon was preparing to solve, for the benefit of the French government, the question as to where the great river emptied. In this *Relation,* after describing the Illinois tribes, Dablon writes:

> These people are situated in the midst of that beautiful region (toward the south), mentioned by us, near the great river named Mississippi,[41] of which it is well to note here what information we have gathered. It seems to form an inclosure, as it were, for all our lakes, rising in the region of the north and flowing toward the south, until it empties into a sea—supposed by us to be either the Vermillion or the Florida Sea,[42] as there is no knowledge of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into these two seas. Some savages have assured us that this is so noble a river that, at more than three hundred leagues' distance from its mouth, it is larger than the one flowing before

[39] During the following summer (1671) he removed the Indians to the mainland north of the strait and founded the Mission of St. Ignace.

[40] See Harrisse, Henri, *Notes pour servir a l'Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1872), p. 135. This writer, whose work will hereafter be cited as *Notes,* is inclined to believe that Allouez actually saw the river before the expedition of Jolliet and Marquette.

[41] The year before, he called it "Messi-Sipi." See *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 54, p. 231.

[42] Gulf of California and Gulf of Mexico, respectively.

> Quebec; for they declare that it is more than a league wide.[43]

Despite the fact that not only in population,[44] but also in agricultural, industrial, and commercial pursuits the English colonies along the Atlantic coast were far in advance of the French north of the St. Lawrence, the English gave considerably less attention to western inland discovery and exploration. Reasons for this were to some extent the topography of the Atlantic seaboard and the hostile attitude of the Indians. But the main reason seems to have been the colonial policy of the mother country. In England mercantilism was in full operation before Colbert undertook to introduce and foster the system on behalf of France. The English merchants, however, saw opportunities for commercial profits not in the west across the mountains but in the north along the coast of Nova Scotia and in the environs of Hudson Bay. Quite naturally the English settlers, especially those of New England and the Middle Colonies, co-operated in the development of this northern trade. Virginia alone, perhaps, manifested an inclination to penetrate westward. As in the days of Raleigh and Smith, the Virginians learned from the Indians that beyond the mountains there existed a river which conducted to the South Sea. Among those most interested in these rumors was Governor Berkeley. In 1669, at the very time when Chouart and Radisson were negotiating with Lord Arlington toward the formation of the Hudson Bay Company, the governor of Virginia made arrangements to lead an expedition westward in search of the river. Two hundred men are known to have offered to take part in the enterprise.[45] As Berkeley informed the home government, heavy and prolonged rains had frustrated his plan, but he asked that a commission be sent him to carry it out the following year. To judge from the governor's letter of June 13, 1670, to

[43] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 207.

[44] In 1688 the total white population of the English colonies was about 240,000, whereas New France, in 1682, numbered only about 12,000 whites. See Channing, Edward, *History of the United States* (New York, 1917-1926), II, 222, note 4; also Lorin, p. 245.

[45] Alvord and Bidgood, *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674* (Cleveland, 1912), p. 62.

the secretary of state, the commission was granted him.[46] If so, this was done presumably without the knowledge and consent of the king. Wholly subservient to the will of Louis XIV, with whom he made the secret treaty of Dover in 1670, Charles II would scarcely have countenanced any project on the part of the English colonials that tended to thwart the French design on the unexplored west. It seems, therefore, that the expedition which crossed the Appalachian range and reached the Kanawa River in the late summer of 1671[47] was a private venture merely connived at by the colonial authorities. As will be seen later, there is reason to believe that reports of these attempts by the English reached the ears of Talon. In part, they explain why he was in such haste to undertake the exploration of the great river in the west.

From the very beginning of their career in New France, Courcelles and Talon had been closely watching the westward expansion of the Jesuits. Although they differed widely on the method of procedure, the one was as firmly determined as the other to establish the king's authority not only in the east of New France but also in the territories of the west. Carefully they noted all reports that came in, especially what the Jesuits were learning about the "Great Water." During Talon's sojourn in France, this western problem was the topic of serious deliberations between him and Colbert. The minister endorsed the preliminary step which the intendant had already taken in the matter and instructed him to pursue it in a manner that would ensure the king's purpose without rousing undue opposition. Another topic that they discussed was the English menace to the south. They knew that in the spring of 1668 the two French traders, Chouart and Radisson, obtained two ships from Charles II and in these sailed to Hudson Bay. What the English in Virginia were doing in the way of western exploration Talon learned from the Iroquois and Shawnees. Even now, Colbert confided to the intendant, England was negotiating a treaty with Spain, which he assured him, however, would be crippled by Louis XIV through a secret

[46] Bruce, Philip Alexander, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1896), I, 40.

[47] Alvord and Bidgood, pp. 19, 64.

treaty with the English king. No matter where the "Great Water" emptied, the project of a French colonial empire in North America was at stake; wherefore, the minister and the intendant concluded, no efforts must be lost to establish temporal authority also in the western and southern territories and to explore the great river that in some way must lead to the territories occupied by Spain.

His mind busied with these problems and speculations, Talon returned to New France. Here much had occurred during his absence that impressed upon him the need of immediate and determined action. His memoirs to the king and his letter to Colbert, written within three months after his return, show how earnestly he viewed the situation and how eager he was to achieve what the home government expected of him. In the memoir to the king he wrote:

> Since my arrival here I have despatched persons of resolution, who promise to penetrate farther than has ever been done; the one to the west and to the north-west of Canada; and the others to the southwest and south. These adventurers are to keep journals in all instances, and reply, on their return, to the written instructions I have given them; in all cases they are to take possession, display the king's arms and draw up *procès verbaux* to serve as titles. His Majesty will probably have no news of them before two years from this, and when I shall return to France.[48]

To this memoir Talon added a month later the following supplement:

> This country is arranged in such a way that by the river [St. Lawrence] we can ascend anywhere by means of the lakes which lie at the source toward the west and by means of the rivers which empty into it on its banks, opening the way of the north and of the south. It is by this same river that we can hope some day to find the opening to Mexico, and it is to the first of these discoveries that we, M. de Courcelles and I, have sent the sieur de la Salle, who is very enthusiastic for these enterprises, whilst to another place I have made depart the sieur de Saint-Lusson, in order to push on toward the west as far as he will find wherefrom to subsist, with

[48] Memoir of Talon, dated October 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 64.

> orders to investigate carefully whether by means of the lakes or rivers there is some communication with the South Sea that separates this continent from China.[49]

This same project and the secrecy with which Talon intended to pursue it found expression also in his letter to Colbert. He wrote:

> You will understand, my lord, by the memoir I furnish the king, that some adventurers have set out to discover unknown countries and to seek out things which may be of use to his state. According as I have advices, I shall dispatch others, with the precaution necessary to such enterprises.[50]

Talon as well as Colbert realized that in carrying out their project it would be necessary to proceed not only with great secrecy but also with great precaution. It will be seen presently how the intendant endeavored to disarm by a show of benevolence the expected opposition of the Jesuits and to avert by quick action elsewhere the clash he knew would ensue if the English became aware of his enterprises in the west and were left free to further their own project in that region.

In the fall of 1667 Allouez arrived in Quebec to solicit a fellow Jesuit for Chequamegon Bay. On this occasion he met Talon and showed him a specimen of copper which had been found at Lake Superior. Though manifesting a keen interest in the discovered metal, Talon was at heart more interested in the fact that the missionary had penetrated so far westward. He discussed the affair with the governor and together they planned to meet the situation. Shortly before his departure for France, Talon commissioned a prominent merchant, Jean Péré, to proceed to the Lake Superior region. He instructed him to take not the customary route of the Ottawa River, but that of the Great Lakes which, as the Iroquois claimed, was beset with less difficulties and hardships. In addition, the intendant provided that in the following spring Louis Jolliet should go to the Ottawa country over the same route, bring supplies and ammunition to Péré, and

[49] Memoir of Talon, dated November 10, 1670, quoted by Lorin, p. 16; also by Chapais, pp. 357-358. This portion of Talon's memoir is not among the extracts in Brodhead, IX, 79-83.

[50] Talon to Colbert, November 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 67.

join him in searching for the copper mine and exploring the territory around Lake Superior.

Whether Péré left Quebec before or after Talon's departure, whether he followed the new route, when he arrived at Sault Sainte-Marie, why he tarried overtime in the northwest, and how long it was before he returned to Quebec, if he ever returned—of all this nothing whatever is known for certain. Like other events at this period, the Péré-Jolliet expedition to Lake Superior is shrouded in mystery. From the letter which the Jesuit Superior wrote at Quebec late in 1672, after Talon's final departure for France, we learn that Péré arrived at Sault Sainte-Marie, proceeded to Lake Superior, and found the copper mine.[51] Apparently in the spring of 1669, Jolliet set out for the west. Some time before July 6 he was at Montreal, whence he continued his journey probably over the new route to Sault Sainte-Marie.[52] Here he found Marquette in charge of the mission established in the preceding November. Jolliet did not get farther than the Sault, prevented probably by the Indian war that was threatening. With an Iroquois captive, whom he purchased from one of the settlers at the Sault, he departed over the Great Lakes route for Montreal[53] where he arrived in the middle of October, 1669. If he continued up the St. Lawrence and reached Quebec, it was certainly after November 11, for on that day Patoulet, who was then representing the absent Intendant Talon, wrote to Colbert:

> The sieurs Jolliet and Péré, to whom M. Talon had had payment made of 400 livres to the one and of 1000 livres to the other, in order to go and find out whether the copper mine, which exists beyond Lake Ontario and of which you have seen some pieces, is rich and easy to extract and bring down here, have not yet returned. The former should have been back during the month of September last; and meanwhile we have no news of him, so that it is necessary to defer to next year giving you certain knowledge of the fruit to be expected from the said mine.[54]

[51] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 237.

[52] See Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 191.

[53] On the way he met the Sulpicians and La Salle.

[54] Patoulet to Colbert, November 11, 1669, in Margry, I, 81. Gagnon (p. 45) says that "Jolliet arrived at Quebec a little while after" Patoulet wrote this letter; but he gives no authority for the statement.

Whatever secret motive Talon may have had when he sent Péré to the northwest, certain it is that, on his return from France, he was dissatisfied with the results of the undertaking. Not only did Péré fail to return to Quebec, but the reports he sent thither were "very obscure," as Talon complained to Colbert, "a fact that affords reason to doubt," he said, "whether the inspection he was to make of that mine has not been retarded and he prevented from communicating his information frankly." [55]

We have seen how the Sulpicians began a mission on the north shore of Lake Ontario. It was in this connection that "in the year 1669," as the Galinée narrative tells us, "M. Dollier spent a part of the winter with a Nipissing chief named Nitarikyk in order to learn in the woods the Algonquin language.[56] The chief had a slave the Ottawas had presented to him in the preceding year, from a very remote tribe in the southwest. This slave was sent by his master to Montreal on some errand." Here he met the Superior of the Sulpicians, M. de Queylus, and told him that his home lay far to the southwest and that he knew a good road leading to it. Immediately the Superior notified M. Dollier "that if he was still of the same disposition . . . to labor for the salvation of the Indians, . . . this slave would be able to conduct him amongst tribes hitherto unknown to the French." [57]

This information reached the ears of Robert Cavelier [58] who had a concession of land from the Sulpicians near Montreal and whose brother was a member of the Sulpician community in that town. Toward the southwest lay the object also of La Salle's speculations—the South Sea and the river supposed to lead to it. For permission to explore this region he had already applied to Governor Courcelles and was probably at Quebec at the very time when M. Dollier arrived there to propose the Sulpician project to the governor. Courcelles encouraged M. Dollier, but told him to co-operate with La Salle "in order that they might together

[55] See Lorin, p. 13.

[56] This was north of the Bay of Kenté, where the Sulpicians had just opened a mission for the Iroquois.

[57] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 167.

[58] As early as 1670 Talon spoke of him as Sieur de la Salle (*ante*, p. 117), by which name he is best known in history.

make the journey M. de la Salle had been long premeditating towards a great river, which he had understood (by what he thought he had learned from the Indians) had its course towards the west, and at the end of which, after seven or eight months' travelling, . . . the river fell into the sea." [59]

Galinée informs us that the expedition which the governor had approved and for which they were preparing, "made a great noise" at Montreal. We have heard that shortly before July 6, on which day the Sulpicians and La Salle departed, Jolliet arrived at Montreal with the provisions which he was to bring to Péré. Quite naturally he learned what the "great noise" was about and a few weeks later imparted what he knew to Marquette at Sault Sainte-Marie.

In the last moment M. de Queylus directed that another member of the community, M. de Galinée, should accompany the expedition, as he was proficient in the science of cartography. Finally, on July 6, after Jolliet had left for the northwest, the two Sulpicians and La Salle, guided by two Iroquois friends of the latter, departed from Montreal. They sailed up the St. Lawrence River and on August 2 reached Lake Ontario. Thence they continued along its southern shore and about a month later came to the Niagara River. This they crossed and then proceeded along the north shore of Lake Erie. On September 24 they arrived at Tinawatawa, "near the present Westover, Ontario." [60] Here it was that they met Jolliet who was on his way back from Sault Sainte-Marie. He acquainted the Sulpicians with what his Iroquois companion had said regarding an easier route "to a very numerous nation of Ottawas called Pottawattamies, amongst whom there never had been any missionaries," adding that "this tribe bordered on the Iskoutegas and the great river that led to the Shawanons." [61] In addition he told them that he had sent

[59] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 168. On November 11, 1669, Patoulet informed Colbert that M. Dollier and La Salle had left Quebec for the purpose of examining a passage that was supposed to afford communication with Japan and China. See Margry, I, 81.

[60] Kellogg, *French Régime*, p. 133, note 60.

[61] Mascouten Indians on the Fox River, in Wisconsin. The "great river that led to the Shawanons" (Shawnees) was none other than the Mississippi.

six of his men to this country and pointed out where on the shore of Lake Erie he had left his canoe. Although it does not appear from the Galinée narrative that, as Kellogg says, Jolliet "advised the missionaries to visit the far West and to begin a mission to the Potawatomi on the Baye des Puants" [62] [Green Bay], nevertheless the information he gave them certainly "induced M. Dollier and me," as Galinée writes, "to wish to go and search for the river into which we wished to enter by way of the Ottawas rather than by that of the Iroquois, because the route seemed to us much easier and we both knew the Ottawa language." [63]

If we recall that by the time Jolliet reached Sault Sainte-Marie, the Jesuits had come to regard the great river in the west as a possible passage to the South Sea; and if it is true that, as Kellogg says, "the Jesuits had no idea of encouraging the Sulpicians to undertake missions in the northwest"; [64] then we can understand how efforts would be made through Jolliet to frustrate the design of the Sulpicians and La Salle by directing the former to Green Bay and thereby separating them from the latter. At the very time that Jolliet was at Sault Sainte-Marie, Allouez was traversing the Green Bay region, a fact that Marquette must have known and of which he doubtless informed Jolliet. Hence it seems strange that Jolliet should have been so intent on having the Sulpicians change their destination as even to provide them with a copy of the map he had made of the new route to the west.

Desirous of founding a new mission as soon as possible, the Sulpicians decided to continue in the direction pointed out by Jolliet. Now, La Salle's objective lay not to the west, but to the south. It was doubtless this circumstance more than ill health that induced La Salle to part company with the missionaries. Very probably, after separating from the Sulpicians, he pursued the original object of the expedition; instead of proceeding to Montreal, he turned toward the south and eventually reached the Ohio River. Nothing is known for certain, however, either of this expedition or of the one he undertook the following year.[65]

[62] Kellogg, *French Régime*, p. 133.

[63] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 192.

[64] Kellogg, *French Régime*, p. 134.

[65] The two expeditions, as Lorin (p. 14, note 3) points out, must not be

Harrisse thinks that "after having passed Onondaga, the courageous explorer touched at some distance from the lake on a small river which led him to the Ohio, the stream which he descended." [66] Though it is not known how far he descended this stream, the fact "that La Salle really reached the Ohio is generally admitted." [67]

After the departure of La Salle, the Sulpicians continued westward along the north shore of Lake Erie. Near the present Port Dover they spent a very severe winter. It was probably here that they took solemn possession of the region by planting a cross and erecting the arms of the French king.[68] When spring returned and navigation was again possible, they proceeded on their journey, departing on April 8, 1670, and eventually arriving at the present Point Pelee. Here one night the waters of the lake rose to such an extent and so suddenly that they flooded the encampment of the Frenchmen and carried away nearly all their provisions. This misfortune put them in a desperate situation and they deliberated whether to begin a mission at this place or to return to Montreal. Concluding that this was no suitable site for a mission and figuring that it was just as far to Montreal as to Sault Sainte-Marie, they decided to visit the Jesuit establishment. Accordingly they proceeded westward, rounded the southeastern extremity of Lake Erie, pushed up the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and on Pentecost Sunday, May 25, reached Sault Sainte-Marie. Here they met the two Jesuits, Claude Dablon and James Marquette. The former had just been appointed Superior of the Ottawa missions, while the latter had come on a visit from Chequamegon Bay, where he had replaced Allouez six months before. The appointment of Dablon for the Ottawa missions and his visit at Sault Sainte-Marie had a very definite purpose. If Jolliet, after meeting the

regarded as forming one enterprise. La Salle's second expedition had the approval of Talon who, shortly after returning from France, interviewed the explorer and sanctioned the project which he proposed.

[66] Harrisse, *Notes*, p. 124.

[67] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Bursting of Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble* (New York, 1879, pamphlet), p. 17. See also Chesnel, Paul, *Histoire de Cavelier de la Salle* (Paris, 1901), pp. 33-39.

[68] See the *Acte de prise de possession des Terres du Lac Erie* of October, 1669, signed by François Dollier and De Galinée, in Margry, I, 166; also in Brodhead, IX, 66.

Sulpicians and La Salle, returned to Quebec, it was probably he who told the Jesuit Superior-General what the Sulpicians intended. To anticipate them it was important for the Jesuits to have one of their number residing in the west with delegated powers to act immediately in all matters that pertained to the Ottawa missions. For this office Dablon was chosen, who then went to Sault Sainte-Marie and without delay notified Allouez that he should come to this mission for an interview. Thus matters stood when on May 26, as just stated, the Sulpicians arrived. They told the Jesuits of their intention to proceed to Green Bay and establish a mission there, as Jolliet had intimated. In reply the Jesuits assured them that they were too late, that a mission had already been founded at Green Bay.[69] Though expressing their gratitude for the cordial reception and hospitality accorded them, the Sulpicians were sorely disappointed, as the tone in Galinée's narrative at this point reveals. They remained only three days at Sault Sainte-Marie and then departed over the Ottawa route for Montreal, where they arrived three weeks later.[70]

Almost simultaneously with their return, a trader and explorer arrived in Montreal who was destined to play a prominent and important rôle in the work of territorial expansion. This was Nicholas Perrot. He had just been at Green Bay and seen how Jolliet's men caused trouble among the Indians, how Allouez succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation, how thereupon this zealous missionary founded four missions in the Green Bay region, and how he then set out for Sault Sainte-Marie.

Shortly after Perrot's arrival in Montreal, a message came from Governor Courcelles, summoning to Quebec for a peace parley all the Ottawa and Iroquois chiefs then trading at Montreal. Without delay the chiefs, accompanied by Perrot, departed and reached Quebec in July, 1670. From Perrot the governor heard what had transpired in the distant west during the past eighteen months. Convinced that something must be done to meet the situation, he requested Perrot to remain in Quebec and await the arrival

[69] We know that under date of May 10, 1670, Allouez noted in his journal that he was leaving Green Bay in order to go to Sault Sainte-Marie, "whither obedience called me," he says. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, p. 241.

[70] A few days after their departure, Allouez arrived from Green Bay.

of Talon who would surely come with the next vessels. On August 18, as we know, the intendant arrived.

If Talon was so bent on taking up the work of territorial expansion, this was due to the reports he received from Governor Courcelles, the Sulpicians, Nicholas Perrot, La Salle, and others concerning the recent developments in the west. Much of what had occurred there during his absence—the new establishments of the Jesuits at Michillimackinac and Green Bay, both situated like those of Sault Sainte-Marie and Chequamegon Bay at points that meant control of the fur trade; the fruitless attempt of the Sulpicians to found a mission in the west; the unexpected disagreement that nullified the co-operative exploit of the Sulpicians and La Salle; the impending war between the Iroquois and the northern tribes; the absence of Péré and the obscure reports he was transmitting from the Lake Superior region;—all this confirmed Talon's suspicions and convinced him that steps must now be taken to establish temporal authority also in the newly explored west. In carrying out this project he would be cautious, however, and not openly challenge the Jesuits. The policy which he and Colbert had agreed upon would be strictly observed. The influence of the Jesuits over the Indians was paramount and for that reason their co-operation was indispensable. To antagonize them would be the surest and shortest step to failure. For this reason they alone would for the present participate in the work of expansion. At the same time, however, it would be impressed upon them that exploring and exploiting new territories belonged exclusively to the temporal authority and that their co-operation would be welcomed only so long as they were willing to recognize this principle. That this might be made clear to them, Talon organized two expeditions: one to the northwest in command of Daumont de Saint-Lusson, the other to the southwest in command of La Salle; the former was to take possession of the territory in the name of the king; the latter was to determine the course of the great river that promised a passage to the South Sea.

What Talon intended when on September 3, 1670, he signed the commission authorizing the expedition to the northwest is clearly expressed in the *procès verbal* drawn up and signed at Sault Sainte-Marie on June 14, 1671, after the ceremonies of annexation.

As representative of the intendant, Saint-Lusson was "to take possession, in the king's name, of all the territories inhabited and uninhabited which we should pass, planting at the first settlement the Cross in order to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and the arms of France in order to ensure there the authority of his Majesty, and the French dominion."[71] That the intendant gave Saint-Lusson secret instructions is certain from what he wrote to Colbert on November 11, 1671. Discussing the various charges made against him by Governor Courcelles, Talon writes:

> He complains also that I was doing things without his concurrence, as the sending of M. de Saint-Lusson to the Ottawas. This officer never departed from here without taking leave of him and without my having previously spoken to him about it. It is true, however, that I have not made known to him all that the instruction of the sieur de Saint-Lusson contained, because I was very sure that he would secretly thwart the service that he was to render to the king, as he very often took occasion to do when he knew my views and designs before their execution.[72]

What Saint-Lusson's secret instructions were can only be conjectured. Lorin thinks that the intendant wished him to make "a confidential investigation regarding the missions of the Jesuits."[73] If such was the case, then one can also understand why Talon was so insistent that all the Indian tribes of the northwest be present to witness the ceremonies and why he entrusted the task of inviting the various tribes and eventually acting as official interpreter not to one of the missionaries but to Nicholas Perrot.

About the middle of September, Saint-Lusson and Perrot left Quebec for Montreal. Thence, in the beginning of October, they set out for the west,[74] taking the Great Lakes route, so well

[71] For the French text of this *procès verbal* see Gagnon, pp. 49-53. An English translation is in Brodhead, IX, 803-804.

[72] Talon to Colbert, November 11, 1671, quoted by Chapais, p. 379.

[73] Lorin, p. 15, note 3.

[74] If the Sulpicians were informed of the object of the expedition, as they doubtless were, either no invitation was extended to them to attend the coming ceremonies or they refused to be present. That they did not attend the ceremonies is evident from the fact that of missionaries who signed the *procès verbal* there were only Jesuits, no Sulpicians.

known to Perrot. The winter months were spent with an Indian tribe on the north shore of Lake Huron, opposite Manitouline Island.[75] Here Perrot informed the Indians that the next spring they were all to proceed to Sault Sainte-Marie and hear the message which the sieur de Saint-Lusson had for them from the French king. He asked them also to convey this same invitation to the northern tribes. With the return of spring, Perrot set out for Green Bay, while Saint-Lusson departed for Sault Sainte-Marie.[76] Both arrived at this place some time in May and found a large number of Indians already gathered and more constantly coming.

By Sunday, June 14, 1671, everything was ready for what the *Relation* of that year designated as "the most solemn ceremony ever observed in these regions."[77] In the presence of a large concourse of Indians, a cross was erected on an elevation overlooking the town and was blessed by the Jesuit Superior Claude Dablon, while the three Jesuits[78] and some of the Frenchmen sang the *Vexilla Regis*. Thereupon a cedar pole, bearing the king's coat of arms, was planted beside the cross, while Saint-Lusson proclaimed "three times in a loud voice and with public outcry, that in the name of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis, the XIVth of the Christian Name, King of France and Navarre, we take possession of the said place of St. Mary of the Falls, as also of the lakes Huron and Superior, the isle of Caientoton and of all the other lands, rivers, lakes, and streams, contiguous and adjacent to them, as well discovered as to be discovered, which border to the one side on the seas of the

[75] Kellogg says (*Early Narratives*, p. 214) that Saint-Lusson was accompanied also by Louis Jolliet. For this we have found no authority among the original sources. That one Jolliet was present at the ceremonies is certain from the *procès verbal*; and, as Kellogg says elsewhere (*French Régime*, p. 188, note 14), it "was in all probability Louis," the same who two years later explored the Mississippi River.

[76] Perrot, Nicolas, *Mémoire* (Cleveland, 1911, Blair transl.), I, 220-222.

[77] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 107.

[78] They were Gabriel Druillettes and Louis André, the local missionaries, and Claude Allouez, who had probably come with Perrot from Green Bay. James Marquette, who accompanied the Hurons and Ottawas from Chequamegon Bay, did not arrive till after the ceremonies.

North and the West, and to the other side on the sea of the South, likewise of all their longitude and latitude,—raising at each of the said three times a sod of earth while shouting *Vive le Roy,* and making the whole of the assembly as well French and Indians repeat the same." [79]

Thereupon Nicholas Perrot, whom the *procès verbal* designates as "interpreter for his Majesty in this project," explained to the assembled Indians in their own tongue what the ceremonies signified, promising them the protection of the French king and exhorting them to proclaim their allegiance to him.

According to the *Relation,* Allouez also addressed the Indians in their native tongue.[80] After directing their attention to the cross as the symbol of their spiritual redemption and eternal salvation, he told his hearers to "look likewise at that other post, on which are affixed the armorial bearings of the great captain of France whom we call king, in order to make all those nations understand what sort of a man he was whose standard they beheld, and to whose sovereignty they were that day submitting. Being well versed in their tongue and in their ways," the *Relation* continues, "he was successful in adapting himself to their comprehension as to give them such an opinion of our incomparable monarch's greatness that they have no words with which to express their thoughts upon the subject." [81] The same *Relation* tells us that "the whole ceremony was closed with a bonfire, which was lighted toward evening, and around which the *Te Deum* was sung to thank God, on behalf of those poor peoples, that they were now subjects of so great and powerful a monarch."

[79] See Brodhead, IX, 803.

[80] Strange to say, the *procès verbal* which was the official report of the proceedings, does not even mention this fact. Doubtless, when signing it, Dablon noticed the omission and so supplied it in the next *Relation,* which he as newly appointed Superior-general of the New France missions drew up for that year. See *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 55, pp. 109-113. Equally strange is the fact that in this *Relation* there is no mention of Perrot, though as official interpreter he certainly played a prominent rôle. Neither does Perrot in his account of the event say anything of Allouez's sermon. One is inclined to conclude from this mutual suppression of incidents that the Jesuits and Perrot, their former *donné,* were not on the best of terms.

[81] *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 55, pp. 109, 115.

To all appearances, Saint-Lusson did not carry out the other portion of his instructions, "to repair immediately to the territories of the Ottawas, Nez Perces, Illinois, and other nations discovered and to be discovered in North America, from the shore of Lake Superior on the *Mer Douce*,[82] in order there to make search for and find mines of every sort, especially the one of copper." [83] Satisfied with the returns from the beaver trade which he or his agents had been carrying on with the Indians, he left Sault Sainte-Marie immediately after the ceremonies and some time in July was back at Quebec. On November 2, 1671, Talon wrote to the king:

> Sieur de Saint-Lusson is returned, after having advanced as far as five hundred leagues from here, and planted the cross and set up the King's arms in presence of seventeen [84] savage nations, assembled on this occasion from all parts; all of whom voluntarily submitted to the dominion of his Majesty whom alone they regard as their sovereign protector.[85]

The fact that neither in this nor in any later dispatch Talon mentions Péré leads one to suppose that Saint-Lusson did not co-operate with him, as he was instructed to do. Perhaps something occurred that induced Talon to drop the Péré affair entirely. But this circumstance together with Saint-Lusson's failure to explore the Lake Superior region in search of mineral deposits and of a passage to the South Sea worried the intendant. He feared it would displease the king and his minister, should it come to their ears; wherefore in the letter just quoted he says that "Sieur de Lusson's voyage to discover the South Sea and the copper mine will not cost the king anything. I make no account of it in my statements," he explains, "because having made presents to the savages of the countries of which he took possession, he has reciprocally received from them in beaver what can balance his expense." [86]

This parsimony of Talon, as Gagnon suggests,[87] may have been

[82] Namely, Lake Erie.

[83] See the *procès verbal*.

[84] The *procès verbal* says "fourteen," probably omitting those that came with Marquette after the ceremonies were over.

[85] Talon to the king, November 2, 1671, in Brodhead, IX, 72.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 72.

[87] Gagnon, pp. 59-60.

prompted by what La Potherie, or rather Perrot himself,[88] relates concerning Saint-Lusson's activities in the northwest. "The delegate," he writes, "had orders to go, after the act of taking possession, to make the discovery of a copper mine at Lake Superior, in the river Antonagon[89]; but his conduct in this enterprise was so irregular, to use no stronger expression, that I will content myself with stating that he was sent to Cadie [Acadia], in order to send him back to France."[90] Though the reason insinuated by La Potherie for Saint-Lusson's voyage to France does not appear from Talon's letters, the statement that the intendant sent him to France is correct.

While the events just related were enacting in the northwest, somewhere farther south La Salle was conducting an exploration that remains to the present day one of the most baffling enigmas of early American history. That the intendant approved La Salle's project to explore the southwest for a passage to the Pacific and that the venture was to be made simultaneously with the one entrusted to Saint-Lusson is certain; that La Salle actually set out on the expedition is generally admitted; but in what direction he went, how far he penetrated, and what he found will perhaps always remain an unsolved problem. If the authenticity of the documents published by Pierre Margry in support of his theory[91] were as reliable as some portions of them are

[88] In La Potherie's *Histoire*, says Blair (Preface, p. 16), "Perrot's lost writings evidently reappear." In the *Mémoire*, which is certainly Perrot's own work, there is not the slightest indication of any irregularity in Saint-Lusson's conduct at Sault Sainte Marie. But when he wrote this *Mémoire*, after 1680, Perrot had reasons for not saying all he knew in a work that he doubtless intended to publish. His private notes, however, had more on the matter, and these notes eventually fell into the hands of La Potherie, who used them for his *Histoire*.

[89] The present Ontonagon, on the southshore of Lake Superior, about eighty miles east of Chequamegon Bay.

[90] La Potherie, I, 347-348.

[91] Margry contends that on this expedition La Salle passed over the Great Lakes route westward, came to the Illinois River, and proceeding down this river reached the Mississippi which he, therefore, "discovered" and explored two years before Jolliet and Marquette. This contention and the documents he published in support of it elicited from John Gilmary Shea the lengthy refutation already noted and entitled "The Bursting of

definite and clear, the problem would on many points be no longer such. In that case it would be necessary to hold with Chesnel, one of the more recent supporters of the Margry theory, that "La Salle penetrated down the Illinois to this giant river [the Mississippi] and explored it as far as the 37th degree of latitude." [92]

Whatever ambiguity[93] one may detect in the memoir which Talon, shortly after his return to New France, addressed to the king regarding the destination decided upon for the Lusson-Perrot and the La Salle expeditions, the fact that the former actually went northwest is sufficient ground for assuming that the latter was told to keep more to the south. Besides, Talon says expressly that he is in hope "of some day finding the passage to Mexico." Moreover, Colbert understood Talon's plan perfectly, for he tells the intendant that "the resolution which you have made of sending the sieur de la Salle to the south coast, and the sieur de Saint-Lusson to the north coast, in order to find a passage to the South Sea, is very good." [94]

Both Saint-Lusson and La Salle were "to take possession, display the king's arms and draw up *procès verbaux* to serve as titles," [95] as Talon expressed it in his memoir. The intendant

Pierre Margry's La Salle Bubble." Fifteen years before Shea, Rev. Jules Tailhan, S.J., refuted Margry's theory. See his *Mémoire sur les Moeurs, Coustumes et Religion des Sauvages de l'Amérique Septentrionale par Nicolas Perrot* (Leipzig and Paris, 1864), pp. 280-289.

[92] Chesnel, p. 54. For a more recent study of the La Salle expeditions see Villiers, Baron Marc De, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort Orleans, 1673-1728* (Paris, 1925), pp. 4-18.

[93] Talon wrote that the St. Lawrence with its tributaries and the lakes at its source opened "the way of the north and of the south;" adding that "it is to the first of these discoveries that we . . . have sent the sieur de la Salle, . . . whilst to another place I had the sieur de Saint-Lusson depart, in order to push toward the west . . ." Commenting on this ambiguous statement—ambiguous because of what eventually took place—Lorin says (pp. 15-16): "Although the expression 'to the first of these discoveries' is not perfectly clear, it seems plain that, since the purpose of La Salle was not that of Saint-Lusson, the former was to go more to the south than the latter, and this seems to indicate that La Salle already suspected the true direction of the Mississippi."

[94] Colbert to Talon, February 11, 1671, in Clement, III[2], 516-517.

[95] Talon to the king, October 10, 1670, in Brodhead, IX, 64.

believed that there were urgent reasons why the king's authority should be solemnly demonstrated also in the south. For one thing, the Jesuits were in sole control of the five Iroquois cantons. The eagerness with which in 1667 they had accepted them as their mission field may have created in Talon the suspicion that they were actuated not only by missionary zeal but also by the prospect of eventually taking over the languishing missions of their English confrères in Maryland.[96] Furthermore, for the material development of New France it was important to convince also the Iroquois that the French king was a rich and powerful ruler, well disposed toward the Iroquois despite their former hostility and well able to promote their welfare and protect their interests. Finally, to anticipate any design the English might entertain for westward expansion, it was imperative to secure for France a title to the southwest, such as was secured by Saint-Lusson in regard to the northwest.

Such were the plans of Talon for the second expedition which he sanctioned in 1670. But such were not the plans of the man to whom he entrusted it. La Salle had already been south and discovered the Ohio. What interested him now was the new route to the west of which Jolliet a year before had been so willing to inform him and the Sulpicians. Already suspecting the true direction of the great river, La Salle now hoped to reach it by travelling over this new route straight west. As far as the Jesuits were concerned, he could see no proximate danger of their acquiring such control over the Iroquois as they actually possessed over the northern tribes. The Iroquois themselves, with whom he was on friendly terms, assured him of that. For this reason, instead

[96] They actually made a step in this direction in 1674 when their Superior Claude Dablon sent one of the Iroquois missionaries, Jean Pierron, to Acadia and from there to Maryland and Virginia. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 73-75. The Jesuit missions in Maryland at this time were in a sorry state, and in 1672 the English Franciscans answered the request of the missionaries by sending two friars of their province to Maryland. Between 1672 and 1720, seven Franciscans are known to have served the Maryland mission, but there seems to be no record of their activity. James Haddock died there in 1720. See Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 81-82; also Father Thaddeus, *The Franciscans in England* (London, 1898), pp. 81-83.

of thwarting the design of the Jesuits in the south, La Salle preferred to anticipate them in the west by locating and exploring the great river. With this in mind he boldly disregarded Talon's instructions and, instead of going south, went west. If these conjectures are correct, then La Salle reached the Lake Michigan region at the very time that its Indian tribes as also Allouez were assembled at Sault Sainte-Marie. The reason he returned to the east without penetrating farther and reaching the Mississippi was probably the same that a few years later occasioned his hasty departure from the Illinois River for Fort Frontenac; namely, the need of men to replace deserters and the clamor of his creditors for financial returns. Early in August, 1671, La Salle was at Montreal and on the sixth of the month contracted with the local government for merchandise to the amount of four hundred and fifty-four livres. Thereupon he doubtless returned to the west without first reporting to Talon; for on November 2, 1671, the intendant informs the king that "the sieur de la Salle has not yet returned from his voyage made to the southern part of this country."[97] The next reliable information we have regarding him is that in the beginning of 1673, only a few months after Talon left for France, he was among the Iroquois, preparing the way for Frontenac's expedition to Lake Ontario.[98]

La Salle's neglect to follow Talon's instructions and still more his failure to realize the object for which he neglected them will account for the fact that, as long as Talon was in New France, the explorer neither put in his appearance in Quebec nor transmitted any report of his experiences. When interviewing the intendant before the expedition, he may have noticed that Talon disapproved the hostile attitude he manifested toward the Jesuits, such being at this time contrary to the intendant's policy. Furthermore, La Salle may have suspected that on this very point Talon and Courcelles disagreed, but that Talon's policy would prevail because he enjoyed greater influence at court. In the governor, La Salle had

[97] See Chesnel, p. 44.

[98] See the letters of June 12 and July 6, 1673, addressed to Frontenac by the two Jesuit missionaries, Garnier and Lamberville, in *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 57, pp. 27-31.

a patron and to him he was in large measure indebted for the fact that the intendant sanctioned his project at all. This is indicated in Talon's memoir to the king. When speaking of the La Salle expedition, the intendant says "We, M. de Courcelles and I, have sent the sieur de la Salle," while he refers to the Lusson-Perrot expedition rather as an undertaking sponsored by himself alone. Weighing these various circumstances, La Salle decided that it was safer for him to avoid Talon and wait for more favorable times when his funds would be replenished and when a man would be in control of the colony's temporal affairs, whose aim and policy better coincided with his own. That time came late in 1672 when Talon and Courcelles departed for France and Frontenac united their offices in himself.

After their treaty with the French in 1667, the warlike and treacherous Iroquois renewed hostilities against the Conestoga and Shawnee Indians who were then residing in the Ohio valley region.[99] Prevented by this treaty with the French from robbing and murdering Indian traders north of the St. Lawrence, yet strongly attracted by the more lucrative fur trade with the English, the wily Iroquois began to establish peaceful trade relations with the northern tribes and carry to English posts the furs intended for the French. Courcelles and Talon immediately saw that, in order to repress the Iroquois and preserve control of the fur trade in the northwest, it would be necessary to occupy some strategic point farther west than the three forts commanding Lake Champlain. While they agreed that this point was the juncture of the St. Lawrence with Lake Ontario, they disagreed as to the time and manner of occupying it.

It is safe to say that this project occasioned the first as well as the second expedition of La Salle. In both instances, the man apparently most interested and mainly responsible was Governor Courcelles. He hoped that La Salle's venture would prove a far step toward realizing the Lake Ontario project. But, as we know, La Salle neither returned nor reported. At the same time, Courcelles found that the intendant had become averse to undertaking what he had formerly advocated and that he was wholly

[99] Perrot, I, 226-227.

absorbed in the northwest enterprise. Accordingly, the governor decided to act for himself, justifying this by the fact that it was a military affair and as such pertained to him. His plan was to transact among the Iroquois precisely what Saint-Lusson had been deputed by Talon to transact in the northwest.

In the spring of 1671, notice was sent to the Iroquois chiefs that the governor of New France wished to meet them at a place situated at the eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, known to them as Cataraqui. On June 3 Courcelles departed from Quebec with an army of five hundred men and a week later reached Cataraqui.[100] Here on June 12, just two days before the elaborate ceremonies at Sault Sainte-Marie, Courcelles and the Iroquois met. Promises of continued friendship were renewed and the usual presents exchanged to confirm them. If the Iroquois approved the governor's proposal to erect a trading-post at this place, their continued efforts to divert and control the Ottawa trade showed that their friendly bearing at Cataraqui was dictated by mere policy. At heart they were not disposed to relinquish what they considered their rights and what they were shrewd enough to see was to their advantage. Consequently, one of the first ventures of Frontenac, prompted by the same motives that actuated his predecessor, was the erection of the fort at Cataraqui. This was effected in the summer of 1673. The fort was named after the new governor and in 1675 granted to La Salle, whom Frontenac had urgently recommended to the home government.

Aside from their conviction that the security of the Lake Superior region demanded the annexation of the territories east and south of Hudson Bay, Talon and Colbert had agreed that it would endanger the interests of France to let the southwest become the field of Anglo-French rivalry. Louis XIV could not at this time afford a war with England, wherefore the English menace existing south of the St. Lawrence would have to be disarmed by peaceful measures. One of these was what Talon proposed after his return to New France and what Colbert immediately sanctioned: "establishing good and close correspondence with the

[100] For the details of this expedition see the account by Courcelles in Margry, I, 169-192.

English at Boston, and of engaging even in some commerce with them for the things that you shall mutually be in need of." [101] Thus wrote Colbert to the intendant on February 11, 1671. Nine months later, on November 2, the intendant had this to say to the king:

> I am no courtier and I do not say merely out of a desire to please the king and without just foundation that this part of the French monarchy will become something grand. What I discover close by makes me predict it, and those parts of the foreign nations that border on the ocean, so well established, already are trembling with fear at sight of what his Majesty has achieved here in the lands after seven years. The measures which have been taken in order to confine them within very narrow limits by the annexations that I have had made, do not permit that they expand, whilst at the same time they do not afford reason to treat them as usurpers and to make war upon them. And this it is in truth that they show by all their actions to fear much. They know already that the name of the king is so broadcast among the savages that he alone is regarded as the arbiter of peace and of war. They are all imperceptibly separating themselves from the other Europeans, and, with the exception of the Iroquois, of whom I am not yet certain, we can almost be certain that they will take up arms against the others when it will be desired.[102]

Meanwhile no news arrived from La Salle. What if the English should continue their exploits and reach the great river before the French? To meet this situation peacefully Talon planned to divert the attention of the English from the west by directing it to the north and east. This it was in some measure that occasioned two more expeditions, one to Hudson Bay and another to Acadia.

In the spring of 1671 a band of Christinos, whose villages were situated near the southeast corner of Hudson Bay, came to Quebec, as they had done ten years before, and asked that missionaries be sent to their country. Here was Talon's opportunity. In the same memoir of November 2, 1671, he reported to the king:

[101] Colbert to Talon, February 11, 1671, in Clement, III[2], 514; also Colbert to the French ambassador at London, August 5, 1670. *Ibid.*, pp. 491-493.

[102] Talon to the king, November 2, 1671, quoted by Chapais, pp. 357-358.

> Three months ago I dispatched with Father Albanel, a Jesuit, Sieur St. Simon, a young Canadian gentleman, recently honored by his Majesty. They are to penetrate as far as Hudson's Bay; draw up a memoir of all that they will discover; drive a trade with the Indians, and especially reconnoiter whether there be any means of wintering ships in that quarter, in order to establish a factory. . . .
>
> Since their departure, I received letters from them three times. . . . If my letters, in reply, are safely delivered to the said Father, this establishment will be thoroughly examined and his Majesty will have full information about it. . . . I have commissioned Saint-Simon to take renewed possession, in his Majesty's name, with orders to set up the escutcheon of France and to draw up *procès verbal* in the form I have furnished him.[103]

On August 6, 1671, Saint-Simon and Albanel left Quebec for Tadouassac. Here they were joined by six Indians at the mission at that place. They departed from Tadouassac on August 26 and paddled up the Saguenay River. On the way they heard from roaming Indians that two ships had been seen at the bay. These were doubtless the English vessels in charge of Radisson and Chouart. Continuing their voyage up the river, they came to Lake St. John, and here spent a long and dreary winter. It was not before the month of June, 1672, that they were able to proceed on their expedition. After passing the south shore of Lake Mistassini, they arrived on June 28 at Hudson Bay, where they received a hearty welcome from the Indians who had been at Quebec the year before. Notice of the Frenchmen's arrival was sent to the neighboring Indians and soon twelve different tribes were gathered at the Indian village to witness the same ceremonies of annexation that Saint-Lusson had enacted a few weeks earlier at Sault Sainte-Marie.[104]

Courcelles and Talon had always felt that to promote colonial trade and commerce, the French should possess a harbor on the Atlantic coast farther south than the St. Lawrence. Shortly after their arrival in New France they recommended that the acquisition

[103] Talon to the king, November 2, 1671, in Brodhead, IX, 72-73.

[104] For a detailed account of this expedition see *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 56, pp. 149-217.

of New Netherlands, an English possession since 1664, be made an issue in the treaty under way between France and England. But their recommendation came too late. What France acquired by the Treaty of Breda, 1667, was not New Netherlands with its fine New York harbor, but Acadia, which, though affording a suitable harbor, was otherwise a desolate and arid region. Still, it was now a French possession and for that reason communication would have to be established between it and New France. Talon was instructed, therefore, to open a road between Quebec and Port Royal. On March 11, 1671, Colbert wrote to M. le Chevalier de Grandfontaine, who had settled in Acadia as governor the year before:

> You know at present that the king has issued very precise orders to M. Talon and has had funds sent to him for the purpose of opening the communication of Quebec with the coast of Acadia; and since this opening of a road will contribute much to the establishment of a large commerce, from which the colonies will derive all the advantage, you will work as much as depends upon you to further this communication, so that his Majesty may learn next year that it will be in a condition of being soon completed, if it is not already so.[105]

Talon availed himself of this second opportunity to safeguard French interests in the west. He figured that reports of the Acadia enterprise would reach England and produce the same result that he expected from the Simon-Albanel expedition. In July, 1671, Saint-Lusson returned from Sault Sainte-Marie and to him Talon entrusted the Acadia affair.[106] To all appearances, Talon and Saint-Lusson had been on friendly terms.[107] In view of this the intendant, though dissatisfied with the material results of the expedition to Sault Sainte-Marie, said nothing about it in his letters to Colbert and the king, while Saint-Lusson on his part relinquished whatever claim he might have on the royal treasury.

[105] Colbert to Grandfontaine, March 11, 1671, in *Manuscrits relatifs à la Nouvelle-France*, I, 209.

[106] That Saint-Lusson was employed for both expeditions is now generally accepted. See Lorin, p. 19; Chapais, pp. 362-367; Kellogg, *French Régime*, p. 183.

[107] Thwaites thinks he came to Canada with Talon in 1670. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 320, note 4.

Perhaps, too, the explorer threw light on a matter concerning the northwest which Talon considered more important even than the copper mine and the South Sea waterway. At all events, he decided to employ Saint-Lusson for the Acadia enterprise and then to send him to France with official dispatches and first-hand information.

Probably toward the end of July, 1671, Saint-Lusson departed from Quebec and set out for Acadia. In the absence of all detailed records it is impossible to trace the route he took. Indications are that he first proceeded to the Kennebec River, fixed by the Treaty of Breba as the boundary line between the French and the English possessions. What is known for certain is that he reached Pentagouet,[108] where he found the English settlers well established and willing to place themselves under French sovereignty. On November 11, 1671, Talon addressed a letter to Colbert. After telling the minister that he was endeavoring to prevent English trade in Acadia without using violence, he continued:

> Whilst concluding this memoir, Sieur de St. Lusson returned from Pentagouet, but so broken down by the fatigue of his journey, and so enfeebled by the hunger he suffered, that I doubt his ability to go to France, whither I should be very glad he would repair to have the honor to inform you, in person, what he saw at the Rivers Pemcuit and Kinibiki, both covered with handsome English settlements, well built and in beautiful valleys. The colonists, though mostly of English birth, received him in princely style.

Though the intendant was not able to say whether this friendly feeling of the colonists in Acadia was based on fear that the French would attack them or on a sincere desire to be under the dominion of the French king, he could nevertheless assure Colbert that "they have authorized Sieur Saint-Lusson to make proposals to me on this subject, which I forbade him to communicate to whomsoever," adding that "he is the bearer of the memoirs to you."[109]

It was early in November, therefore, that Saint-Lusson returned to Quebec. From Talon's letter it is certain also that he left for

[108] Namely, Penobscot, in present Maine.

[109] Talon to Colbert, November 11, 1671, in Brodhead, IX, 74-75.

France with the November sailing and took with him the intendant's official correspondence. The next year he returned to New France and with his family settled in Acadia. Here he received from Talon, under date of November 7, 1672, a tract of land. He died in Acadia three years later.[110]

Talon's scheme to direct the attention of the English to the north and east was to some extent successful. It is known, for instance, that the English sought peace with the French and in 1674 allowed free passage through their colonies to the Jesuit missionary Jean Pierron, who was sent thither by his Superior.[111] More evident is Talon's success in the case of the Simon-Albanel expedition. The Hudson Bay Company soon learned of the French encroachment into their territory and protested to their home government. But Charles II could not act, being just then engaged in negotiations with France for an alliance against Holland.[112] This treaty, however, did not prevent the Hudson Bay question from remaining an inter-colonial issue and as such it necessarily directed the attention of English colonial merchants to the north. The result was that for a time the English colonies became less active in westward exploration, so that the French had ample opportunity to pursue their western project and to undertake in 1673 the expedition that solved the problem concerning the Mississippi River.

[110] See Lorin, p. 19.

[111] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 73-75.

[112] See Colbert to Colbert de Croissy, January 16, 1672, in Clement, III[2], 416-417. Colbert de Croissy was the French ambassador at London. Two months after the writing of this letter, England and France declared war on Holland.

CHAPTER III

The Exploration of the Mississippi River

While the government in Canada was pursuing its project of territorial expansion and the founding of a vast colonial empire in North America, an event occurred in Europe that goes to explain why Louis XIV attached such importance to the expedition Talon had recommended during his sojourn in France and, after his return to Canada, hoped to set in motion before his term of office expired. On February 3, 1668, the Spanish Inquisition at Santo Domingo found the ex-governor of New Mexico, Diego de Peñalosa, guilty of the serious charges launched against him.[1] In punishment, "he was fined, exiled, and debarred from holding further office in the Spanish dominions."[2] Apparently under the pretense of appealing his case directly to the king, he boarded a vessel at Havana, which brought him to Teneriffe, one of the Canary Islands. Here, instead of going to Spain, he took passage on an English vessel and reached England "at the latest in February, 1670."[3] Thirsting for vengeance, the discredited governor planned an attack on the Spanish possessions in the New World and to this end sought the co-operation of the English government. But Parliament gave him little encouragement, probably because at the time a treaty with Spain was under way. Though Charles II, always at odds with his parliament, seems at first to have been favorably minded toward Peñalosa,[4] he soon realized that it would be more to his own advantage if he placed the Spaniard's scheme at the disposition of the king of France.

[1] He became governor in 1660 and held office for four years. He was accused of misappropriating public funds, abusing the missionaries by word and deed, and scandalizing the Indians by his immoral life.

[2] See Dunn, William Edward, *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region of the United States, 1678-1702* (Austin, 1917), p. 13.

[3] Daenell, Ernst, *Die Spanier in Nordamerika, 1513-1824* (Munich and Berlin, 1911), p. 99.

[4] See Daenell, p. 101.

The fact that precisely at this time Charles II was having underhand dealings with Louis XIV affords strong reason for supposing that he secretly, without the knowledge of parliament, brought the proposal of Peñalosa to the attention of the French ambassador at London, who in turn notified his royal master at Paris. On the strength of documents which he found in the Spanish archives of Simancas, Dunn assures us that "on June 12, 1671, Marcos de Oñate, of the Spanish embassy in London, wrote to the king that Peñalosa was still trying to promote his schemes; that money had been furnished him; and that he had gone to Dunkirk for an audience with the king of France." [5]

It may be a matter of controversy whether Peñalosa, while governor of New Mexico, actually headed an expedition that reached the Mississippi River.[6] But the assertion itself is evidence that he had knowledge of the great river. In the journal of the expedition, the Franciscan, Nicolas de Freytas,[7] says, "We arrived at a great river which they call Mischipi, where we saw the first Indians of the nation Eccanxuaques . . . who went to attack the first city of the Quiviros." [8] That Peñalosa met Louis XIV or his representative at Dunkirk on the occasion referred to by the Spanish ambassador is very probable. During that interview he was doubtless asked about the river in the west which Talon had spoken of as a possible passage to the South Sea. In reply he declared that the river in question flowed from north to south, passed by the rich provinces of Teguayo and Quivira,

[5] Dunn, p. 13, note 4.

[6] See Hackett, Charles W., "New Light on Don Diego de Penalosa," in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), V (1919), pp. 313-335. Hackett proves conclusively that Peñalosa never made the expedition.

[7] He and another Franciscan, Miguel de Guebara, both of unsavory memory, abetted Peñalosa in his criminal and scandalous conduct. See Hackett, *loc. cit.*

[8] Shea, John Gilmary, *The Expedition of Don Diego de Peñalosa* (New York, 1882), p. 29. Shea publishes the Spanish text of Freytas' *Jornada del Oriente y Descubrimiento de la Quivira que hizo el Señor Don Diego Dionisio de Peñaloza.* The Eccanxuaques of Freytas are the Escanjaques or Escansaques on the Arkansas River, who were visited by Oñate in 1601. See Bolton, Herbert E., *Spanish Exploration*, p. 257.

and offered passage to New Spain. At the invitation of Louis XIV, Peñalosa took up his abode in France, married a French woman,[9] and eventually co-operated with La Salle for the conquest of the silver mines in Mexico.

The information received from Peñalosa confirmed Louis XIV in his ambition to erect a vast colonial empire in North America. Before this could be undertaken, however, it was all important that the great river be explored and its true course definitely determined. In April, 1672, Frontenac was appointed governor of New France. The following September he reached his new field of activity and handed Talon the letter which Colbert had written on June 4 of that year. In this letter the minister assured the out-going intendant that "after the increase of the colony of Canada, nothing is of greater importance for that country and for the service of his Majesty than the discovery of a passage to the South Sea." For this reason Talon should arrange for an expedition to explore the great river, and, as an inducement, should "assure a good recompense to those who will achieve this discovery." It was in part at least this enterprise that induced the minister to exhort Talon not to leave the colony immediately, but "to remain there as late as you can, in order that you may give all the necessary orders and even control their execution for some time by your presence."[10] To all appearances, this eagerness for an expedition to the great river and for the discovery of the South Sea was inspired not only by the recommendation which Talon had made on this point during his sojourn in France, but also by the information which Peñalosa had given to the French government after Talon's departure.

In his letter to the intendant, Colbert did not explain why the discovery of the South Sea was of primary importance. Policy demanded that Peñalosa's report and proposal be kept under cover. It was dangerous to discuss the affair in a letter that might fall into the hands of the Spaniards. The minister confided the

[9] A *cedula real*, dated December 10, 1678, says that Peñalosa went from England "to Paris, where he is five years and has married a French woman." The *cedula* is printed in *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (Madrid), Num. lx, pp. 424-425.

[10] Colbert to Talon, June 4, 1672, in Clement, III², 539-540.

project to Frontenac, however, and instructed him to impart it to Talon. Though he valued the information, the intendant needed no encouragement. Being on the spot and observing how the western problem was becoming a vital issue between the temporal and spiritual authorities, he felt that it was high time for the government to take action. Since the ceremony of annexation at Sault Sainte-Marie, in 1671, which so distinctly manifested the purpose of the temporal power, the Jesuits had begun to fix their attention on Michillimackinac. Of this Talon was aware and suspected that it was a move toward gaining control of this avenue of trade and western exploration. His suspicions were not entirely unfounded. The Superior of the Jesuits, Claude Dablon, who had founded at Michillimackinac the Mission of St. Ignace, immediately recognized its strategic importance. In the *Relation* of 1671 he wrote:

> It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois, and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the south, as does the Sault [of Sainte-Marie] for those of the north; for in these regions there are only two passages by water for the very many nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to visit the French settlements.[11]

A year later, Marquette having meanwhile taken charge of Mission St. Ignace and removed it from the island to the mainland, the Jesuit Superior had this to say:

> In this retreat [from Mission St. Esprit at Chequamegon Bay] the Hurons, recalling the great advantages that they had formerly enjoyed at Missilimackinac, turned their eyes thither, purposing to seek refuge there, which they did a year ago.
>
> That spot has everything possible to commend it to savages: fish are abundant at all seasons, and the soil is very productive; there is excellent hunting,—bears, deer, and wildcats; and furthermore, it is the great resort of all nations going or coming from the north or the south.
>
> Therefore last year, clearly foreseeing what has occurred, we erected a chapel there, to receive the passers-by and to train the Hurons who have there taken up their abode.[12]

[11] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 157. [12] *Id.*, vol. 56, p. 117.

As Dablon planned, Mission St. Ignace was to be the center of activity among the Ottawas and the point of departure for expansion toward the southwest. The man entrusted with the mission and with the joint project was Marquette. In his undated letter to the Jesuit Superior, which Shea thinks "must have been written in the summer of 1672," [13] Marquette writes: "Meanwhile I am preparing to leave it [the mission] in the hands of another missionary, to go by Your Reverence's order and seek toward the South Sea new nations that are unknown to us, to teach them to know our great God, of whom they have hitherto been ignorant." [14] The Sioux uprising having necessitated the abandonment of Chequamegon Bay, it was now from Michillimackinac and Green Bay that the Jesuits were hoping to penetrate "as far as the famous river named Mississippi,—and, perhaps, even to the South Sea, that the Gospel may extend as far southward as . . . it has been borne northward." [15]

Talon knew better than to regard as very serious what Colbert, in the letter already quoted, thought might be an obstacle to the enterprise, namely, "that it can be achieved only with vessels and that of these there is a very small number." What troubled the intendant more than anything else was the failure of La Salle to transmit a report concerning the expedition which had been entrusted to him for the express purpose of ascertaining the true course of the Mississippi. Talon realized that to send out a new expedition without hearing from La Salle would be to run the risk of complicating matters and incurring perhaps needless expense. So he waited. Weeks lapsed into months. The year

[13] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxv. It is not certain when this letter was written. Thwaites publishes it in the *Relation* of 1672-1673 (*Jes. Rel.*, vol. 57, pp. 249-263). But the general tone of the letter, the absence of any mention of Jolliet's arrival, the statement that André "spent last winter" at Green Bay, the allusion to his (Marquette's) trip to Sault Ste. Marie (evidently in June, 1671, for the ceremony of annexation, since there is no record of his visit to this place in the summer of 1672)—these circumstances seem to show that Shea is correct.

[14] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 57, p. 263.

[15] *Id.*, vol. 56, p. 147.

1672 was wearing on; spring passed and summer came. But La Salle neither returned to Quebec nor transmitted a report.[16] Talon was ill at ease. Before long the vessels would arrive from France, bringing the new governor and his own discharge. Was he then to have no share in the project which he had hoped to make the crowning achievement of his career in the colony? At this juncture, deciding to have the great river explored, his attention was drawn to the man whom he had employed three years before in connection with Jean Péré. When Frontenac arrived and delivered Colbert's letter, Talon had already decided to whom, with the consent of the new governor, he would entrust the expedition.

The manner in which the Jesuit Superior later commended the government's choice of Louis Jolliet for the enterprise seems to indicate that it was he who suggested the name of Jolliet to Talon. That the young man had all the necessary qualifications Talon could not deny. In the summer of 1667, after leaving the seminary at Quebec where he had been studying for the priesthood, Jolliet accompanied Tracy to France. Here he took a special course in hydrography and the allied sciences; whereupon, probably the next summer, he returned to Canada. During the ensuing four years, as trader and trapper, he penetrated far into the western regions, traversed the Great Lakes route to Green Bay, learned several of the Indian languages, and manifested remarkable tact in his dealings with the natives. Of all this Talon was fully aware. Only one circumstance made him hesitate. The Péré affair had never been satisfactorily cleared up. The intendant had his suspicions and among those whom he suspected was also Jolliet whom he knew to be on friendly terms with the Jesuits. He had no certainty, however; wherefore, being eager to see the expedition under way before his departure for France, he cast suspicions aside and recommended Jolliet to Frontenac. After all,

[16] This fact may be regarded as the strongest argument against the Margry contention that in this official expedition La Salle reached and explored the Mississippi River. He certainly could have been back by the summer of 1672 or at least have transmitted a report to the intendant. If he actually arrived at the river, there was no reason why he should keep it a secret. On the contrary, in that case his unfriendly attitude toward the Jesuits would have impelled him to hasten to Quebec and report the success of his enterprise.

he reasoned, Jolliet would be in the employ of the State and whatever he achieved in that capacity would be achieved for the benefit of the State.

Where Jolliet was at this time is not known. Possibly, the Jesuit Superior communicated with him and told him what the intendant had in mind. Accordingly, by the time Talon and Frontenac came to an agreement, Jolliet was in Quebec. Summoned by the governor and the intendant, he placed himself at their service, at the same time explaining that the commercial company which he had just formed with his brother Zachary and Francis de Chavigny, would be able and willing to ensure the project financially.[17] Besides he had friends at Montreal, among them Jacques Le Ber, who would be interested in the project. Satisfied with these arrangements, Frontenac entrusted him with the enterprise and a few weeks later wrote to Colbert:

> M. Talon has also judged it expedient for the service to send the sieur Jolliet for the discovery of the South Sea, by the country of the Mascoutens and the great river which they call the Mississippi, which is believed to disembogue in the sea of California. He is a man very skilled in these kinds of discoveries and who has already been quite near this great river, of which he promises to discover the mouth. We shall have certain news of it this summer, as also of the copper mine of Lake Superior, whither we have also sent other canoes,[18] though I do not believe that it can be of great utility, if they would discover it, on account of the length of the way and the difficulty there would be to transport the material by all the falls and rapids over which it would be necessary to pass.[19]

[17] "It must not be forgotten," writes Gagnon, "that Louis Jolliet was a merchant, besides being explorer and geographer. Shortly before his departure for the Mississippi,—October 1, 1672,—he had signed a contract of partnership with Francis de Chavigny and Zachary Jolliet." Gagnon, p. 135, note 1.

[18] To this other expedition the Jesuit Superior refers when in November, 1672, shortly after Talon's departure for France, he writes that "at the same time, a party started out to make a more careful examination of the copper mine only recently discovered by Sieur Péré at Lake Superior" (*Jes. Rel.*, vol. 55, p. 237). Talon was still seeking information regarding the results of the Péré expedition.

[19] Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, in Margry, I, 255.

From what will appear later, it is quite certain that, before setting out on his long voyage, Jolliet visited also the Jesuit College of Quebec and there had an interview with the Superior. Thereupon, bidding farewell to his aged mother, he left Quebec about the middle of October. The joint-stock company, in which he held a share, furnished him with merchandise which was to be left at Montreal in exchange for what he would need on the expedition. Montreal being then, next to Quebec, the principal trade center in New France, it was very probably here that Jolliet made the final preparations. "It was important," says Gagnon, "not to lose time and to arrive at the post of Michillimackinac . . . before the winter season. Therefore, he immediately set about procuring a good canoe and some expert rowers, making the ordinary provisions of flour and dried meat, then purchasing articles of French make in order to give them as presents to the chiefs of the unknown nations toward whom he was going to direct his course. He did not forget the astronomical instruments," Gagnon continues, "and all that was needed to make charts and write the account of his voyage. Taking advantage of the last beautiful days of the autumn of 1672, he set out with his rowers, skilfully plunging his oar into the limpid wave, with sure arm and sure eye guiding the light craft which had to cover about a hundred leagues in a few weeks, camping at night on the desert banks of lakes and rivers, effecting a portage to avoid the rapids, then, the canoe once more set afloat, resuming without delay the interrupted voyage."[20] Considering the fact that Jolliet was sailing up stream, we may justly assume that fully a month elapsed before he reached Sault Sainte-Marie, from where after a brief rest he set out for Michillimackinac. Very likely, to dispose of merchandise brought from Montreal, he first stopped at the island of Michillimackinac and then crossed over to the mainland whither Marquette had removed the mission of St. Ignace about a year before.

According to the Recit,[21] it was on December 8, the feast of

[20] Gagnon, pp. 66-67.

[21] *Recit des Voyages et Découvertes du P. Jacques Marquette de la Compagnie de Jesus, en l'année* 1673 *et aux suivantes*, p. 2. Of this MS., preserved in the Jesuit Archives of St. Mary's College at Montreal, the

the Immaculate Conception, that Jolliet arrived at Mission St. Ignace. This mission he made his headquarters during the next five months. During the winter months and especially at the opening of spring, he doubtless made exploring trips into the surrounding country, increasing his store of beaver skins and searching for mineral deposits. Most of the time, however, he tarried at the mission, conferring with Marquette on the voyage they were to begin as soon as the lakes and rivers were navigable. The Recit says:

> We took every precaution in our power, so that, if our undertaking were hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. To that end we obtained all the information that we could from the savages who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a map [22] of the whole of that new country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through which we were to pass, the course of the great river, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it.[23]

Early in spring Jolliet repaired to Sault Sainte-Marie, in order to engage the three men who, it seems, had previously volunteered

first chapter (pp. 1-37) comprises the account of the 1673 expedition. It will be quoted hereafter as Recit MS. Our paging is that of the Montreal MS., while the English translation is taken from the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, vol. 59, pp. 87-163.

[22] This map is still preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. In 1852, Shea appended a facsimile of it to his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. It is also in the Thwaites edition of the Jesuit Relations, vol. 59, facing p. 108. This latest reproduction, however, shows that since the days of Shea the original has been mutilated, so that the unmistakable handwriting of Marquette no longer appears on it. In tracing this map they evidently used the one which the Jesuits (probably Allouez and Marquette) had constructed in the summer of 1671 and which was published with the *Relation* of that year. Thwaites reproduces it in volume 55, facing page 94. The map which Thevenot published in his *Recueil de Voyages* (Paris, 1681) is certainly not by Marquette. The same is now quite certain of the so-called "La Manitoumie" map, of which we have found a tracing in the Margry Collection of Maps, preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. For a critical study of this map see Kellogg, *French Regime*, p. 200, note 29.

[23] Recit MS., p. 3.

to take charge of the canoe that Marquette was to occupy. Probably the same men who accompanied Jolliet from Montreal agreed to share his canoe also on the expedition to the Mississippi. Of the five men who, besides Jolliet and Marquette, took part in the enterprise, the names of only three can be ascertained with any degree of certainty. From the letter of Father Cholenec to Father Fontenay,[24] dated October 10, 1675, it is known that when Marquette returned to the Illinois country, in 1674, he was accompanied by two Jesuit *donnés* or oblates, "one of whom," says Cholenec, "made the voyage with him" the year before. Very probably this was Pierre Porteret, since in the journal of that voyage Marquette gives his name in full. Perhaps he knew him better than the other companion whom he mentions merely as "Jacque," leaving a space free for the family name which for the moment he was not able to recall. The "Jacque" in question was doubtless Jacques Largilliers who, according to Hamy, "was in the service of the mission, in the capacity of a *frère donné.*" [25] It is possible also that Marquette gave the first name in full, in order to distinguish him from another Pierre, namely, Pierre Moreau, Sieur de la Taupine, who, Gagnon thinks, was the third man engaged by Jolliet for the 1673 expedition.[26] Gagnon bases his opinion on the fact that, as Marquette himself says, La Taupine was in the Illinois country when he arrived there the second time. Hence it was most probably these three men, Pierre Porteret, Jacques Largilliers, and Pierre Moreau,[27] of whom at least one was a Jesuit *donné,* accompanied the expedition and took charge of Marquette's canoe. Two plied the oars, while the third rested, thereby freeing the missionary from this wearisome labor. The other canoe was occupied by Jolliet and his two rowers, the leader himself taking his turn at the oars. "We were not long in

[24] See Rochemonteix, III, 606-612. At the time, Cholenec was in charge of St. Francis Xavier Mission among the Iroquois.

[25] Hamy, Alfred, S. J., *Au Mississippi, La Premiére Exploration, 1673* (Paris, 1903), p. 157, note 1.

[26] Gagnon, p. 77.

[27] It is important to note that all three were at Sault Ste. Marie on June 14, 1671, and also signed the *procès verbal* which was drawn up on that day after the ceremony of annexation.

preparing all our equipment," says the Recit, "although we were about to begin a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee, Indian corn with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions; with these we embarked, ... fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an undertaking." [28]

On Monday, May 15,[29] the seven explorers bade farewell to the missionary who had come to take Marquette's place [30] and, fortified by his priestly blessing, set out on their historic expedition. After rounding the neck of land south of the mission, they passed through the Strait of Mackinac, skirted westward along the north shore of Lake Michigan and by the end of the week reached St. Michael Mission on the Menominee River. Here the Indians, known as the Wild Rice people, welcomed the Frenchmen into their village. Hearing that the visitors intended to sail down the great river in the west, the Indians were amazed and, to dissuade them, pictured the numerous obstacles and serious dangers connected with such an enterprise. Jolliet and Marquette had been long enough among the western tribes to know that their fears were based on idle rumors and native superstition. After spending a few days at the mission, during which time Marquette instructed and strengthened the Indians in the faith which his

[28] Recit MS., p. 3.

[29] We take this to be the correct date. The Thevenot printed editions (1681 and 1682) of the Recit have May 13. In the manuscript from which Thevenot printed, the *5* may have been misread for a *3*, it being often difficult to distinguish these two figures in manuscripts of the middle 17th century. On the Montreal manuscript copy of the Recit, a 7 is written over what is generally assumed to have been originally a *3*. But after close examination and careful comparison with other figures in the MS. we find that the original figure was certainly not a *3*; it seems rather to have been a *5*, so that the date read *le 15 jour de may*. On what authority the correction was made we have not been able to learn; perhaps on the authority of other manuscript copies which are said to be extant in Europe. In 1673, May 13 was a Saturday. Now, it does not seem plausible that the explorers left on a Saturday. One prefers to think that they waited till Monday, the 15th, spending Sunday at Mission St. Ignace and expecting to arrive by the following Sunday at Mission St. Michael, which Allouez had opened near the Menominee River and which Jolliet had visited at an earlier date.

[30] This was doubtless Philip Pierson. *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 71.

confrère Allouez had already preached to them, the explorers continued their voyage. They sailed down the west coast of Green Bay and certainly by the following Sunday, June 4, came to its southern extremity where, on the site of the present town of De Pere, Allouez had established the Mission of St. Francis Xavier. Remaining at this place over Sunday, they left the next morning for the Mascouten country. After ascending the Fox River to Lake Winnebago, they skirted along the shore of this lake until they reached the mouth of what is now known as the Upper Fox River. Up this stream they paddled and finally came to the Indian village located near the present town of Belin, Green Lake County, Wisconsin.[31] According to the Recit, they arrived here on Wednesday, June 7.[32] This village was the home of the Mascoutens or Fire Nation, expressly designated by Frontenac as the people through whose country Jolliet was to pass. Here the explorers met also Miami and Kickapoo refugees who had recently fled from their homes at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan when the hostile Iroquois invaded them. For these three tribes Allouez had established his third mission, that of St. James.[33] On reaching the Mascouten village, Jolliet summoned the natives to council. Explaining that he had been "sent by Monsieur our governor to discover new countries," and that the missionary had been "sent by God to illumine them with the light of the holy Gospel," he gave them a present and asked that two Indians be assigned to guide him and his companions safely up the river and across the portage to that other river which, he was told, would lead to the Mississippi. "To this they very civilly consented," says the Recit, "and they also spoke to us by means of a present, consisting of a mat to serve us as a bed during the whole of our voyage." On Saturday, June 10, accompanied by two Miami

[31] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 223, note 3; p. 84, note 1.

[32] At this point the Recit is careful to remark that "here is the limit of the discoveries which the French have made, for they have not yet gone any farther" (p. 8).

[33] The route followed by the explorers did not bring them to the fourth mission, that of St. Mark, among the Outagamis, established by Allouez on the Wolf River, near the present Leeman, Waupauka County, Wisconsin. See Kellogg, *French Régime*, pp. 127, 160.

Indians, the explorers left the village and paddled up the river until they came to where a portage of 2,700 paces would bring them to the Wisconsin. Carrying their canoes and provisions they crossed this portage and reached the banks of the Wisconsin, where the canoes were again set afloat. Thereupon the two Miamis returned home, "leaving us alone in this unknown country, in the hands of Providence."[34] Placing themselves under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, they began to descend the Wisconsin.

> It is very wide; it has a sandy bottom, which forms various shoals that render its navigation very difficult. It is full of islands covered with vines. On the banks one sees fertile land, diversified with woods, prairies, and hills. There are oak, walnut and basswood trees; and another kind, whose branches are armed with long thorns. We saw there neither feathered game nor fish, but many deer, and a large number of cattle. Our route lay to the southwest, and, after navigating about thirty leagues, we saw a spot presenting all the appearances of an iron mine; and, in fact, one of our party who had formerly seen such mines, assures us that the one which we found is very good and very rich. It is covered with three feet of good soil, and is quite near a chain of rocks, the base of which is covered by very fine trees.[35]

It was on Thursday, June 17,[36] that they reached the mouth of the Wisconsin. "Finding themselves at 42½ degrees,[37] they entered happily into that famous river which the savages call Mississippi, as one would say the great river, since in fact it is the most considerable of all those that are in that country."[38]

Gradually working their way across the mighty stream,[39] they

[34] Recit MS., p. 10.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 11. Jolliet's map marks this mine south of the river.

[36] The "Relation de la Decouverte de la Mer du Sud" (quoted hereafter as Relation MS.), which Dablon drew up and signed on August 1, 1674, says that the explorers entered the Mississippi on June 15. It should be remembered, however, that Jolliet dictated to Dablon from memory. Why June 17 is the more reliable date will be seen in a later chapter.

[37] The Recit MS. (p. 12) has 42 degrees, while Jolliet's map has the mouth of the Wisconsin at 41 degrees.

[38] Relation MS., p. 2.

[39] Though the Recit fails to mention this, it is certain from the fact

proceeded down its west bank. For nourishment they depended upon sturgeon and paddlefish caught in the river and upon game they killed along the shore. Of Indian corn and dried meat they doubtless obtained a fresh supply from the natives at one of the missions at Green Bay. When night approached, they disembarked at some secluded spot along the shore, built a small fire, and prepared enough food to serve for that meal and to last them also for the following day. Having satisfied their hunger, they re-entered the canoes, pushed a short distance from shore, and there spent the night, Jolliet and the five rowers relieving one another at sentinel duty.

In this way ten days passed, during which time they covered a distance of more than a hundred and fifty miles. On Sunday, June 25, the Recit tells us, "we perceived on the water's edge some tracks of men, and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie.[40] We stopped to examine it; and thinking that it was a road which led to some village of savages, we resolved to go and reconnoitre it."[41] Unless they were quite sure that the Indians they expected to meet were friendly and peaceful, Marquette and Jolliet would hardly have ventured alone some five miles into the interior, leaving their companions with the canoes at the shore. Very likely the Indians at Green Bay had informed them that if they crossed over to the west bank of the great river and continued south, they would soon find traces of the Illinois Indians who had been at Green Bay and had asked that a missionary come and live with them. For signs of human habitation the explorers had been watching ever since they left the Wisconsin; wherefore, discovering human footprints on the shore and a trail that showed considerable usage, they naturally concluded that near by must be the villages of these Illinois tribes. Nor were they mistaken. After walking about five miles across the prairie, they "discovered a village on the bank of a river, and two others on a hill distant about half a league from the

that both the Jolliet and the Marquette map place the Indian villages visited June 25 on the west bank of the river.

[40] From this we see how closely they were keeping to the shore.

[41] Recit MS., p. 14.

first."[42] Approaching the first village so closely that they could see the Indians and hear them speaking, they finally revealed themselves by shouting aloud. This attracted the attention of the Indians who "quickly issued from their cabins," says the Recit, "and having probably recognized us as Frenchmen, especially when they saw the black gown—or, at least, having no cause for distrust, as we were only two men, and had given them notice of our arrival—they deputed four old men to come and speak to us." Slowly and solemnly they advanced, offered the two strangers the peace pipe, and then conducted them to the village.[43] Three years before, while at Chequamegon Bay, Marquette had met some Illinois Indians who told him about their great river. Perhaps these were the same Indians, some of whom may have remembered seeing the missionary at Chequamegon Bay. This would explain why the chief gave them such a cordial welcome when they reached his hut.

> After we had taken our places, the usual civility of the country was paid to us, which consisted in offering us the calumet. This must not be refused, unless one wishes to be considered an enemy, or at least uncivil; it suffices that one make a pretense of smoking. While all the elders smoked after us, in order to do us honor, we received an invitation on behalf of the great captain of all the Illinois to proceed to his village where he wished to hold a council with us. We went thither in a large company, for all these people, who had never seen any Frenchmen among them,[44] would not cease looking at us. They lay on the grass along the road; they preceded us, and then retraced their steps to come and see us again. All this was done noiselessly, and with marks of great respect for us.[45]

At the second village, Jolliet and Marquette were again wel-

[42] After a careful study of the Marquette map, Weld comes to the conclusion that this first village lay on the Iowa river and not on the Des Moines; wherefore the group of villages, known as Peouarea, were located in Louisa County and not, as is generally supposed, in Lee County. Weld, L. G., *Jolliet and Marquette in Iowa*, (Iowa City, 1903, pamphlet), p. 16.

[43] Recit MS., p. 15.

[44] This does not exclude the possibility of some of them having been among the Frenchmen, notably, at Chequamegon Bay.

[45] Recit MS., p. 16-17.

comed with every manifestation of friendship. The chief showed great alarm when they told him why they had come and whither they were going. He warned them of the many dangers they were running by penetrating so far to the south. To prove his good will toward the French, he presented Jolliet with an Indian boy about ten years of age.[46] In addition, he gave the explorers a calumet or peace pipe, assuring them that it would be a protection against hostile Indians in the south, since even the most warlike would not dare molest anyone carrying it and offering it to them to smoke. Thereupon he invited the visitors to a feast which his slaves had meanwhile prepared for them. This feast is very graphically described in the Recit.

> The council was followed by a great feast, consisting of four dishes, which had to be partaken of in accordance with all their fashions. The first course was a great wooden platter full of *sagamité,* that is to say, meal of Indian corn boiled in water and seasoned with fat. The master of ceremonies filled a spoon with *sagamité* three or four times, and put it to my mouth as if I were a little child. He did the same to Monsieur Jolliet. As a second course, he caused a second platter to be brought, on which were three fish. He took some pieces of them, removed the bones therefrom, and after blowing upon them to cool them, he put them in our mouths as one would give food to a bird. For the third course, they brought a large dog, that had just been killed; but, when they learned that we did not eat this meat, they removed it from before us. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest morsels of which were placed in our mouths.[47]

Perhaps at the request of Marquette, the friendly chief now escorted his guests through the village which comprised about three hundred cabins. Before them marched an Indian brave, exhorting the people to approach and look at the white men who had come so far to visit them. Arriving at the cabin of a minor chief, they doubtless stopped for a moment in order to be formally introduced

[46] This we learn from the letter that Jolliet, on October 10, 1674, appended to Dablon's Relation of August 1, 1674. From the Recit MS. (p. 18) it seems that the boy was given to Marquette.

[47] Recit MS., p. 18-19.

to him. "Everywhere," according to the Recit, "we were presented with belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of bears and cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. These are all the rarities they possess. As they are of no great value we did not burden ourselves with them." [48]

That Sunday night, the two explorers found lodging in the chief's cabin. Apparently on the following afternoon, June 26, they left the village and returned to the Mississippi, accompanied by the chief and "nearly six hundred persons who witnessed our embarkation, giving us every possible manifestation of the joy that our visit had caused them." [49] For the five men in charge of the canoes it was doubtless a relief, after long hours of anxiety, when they beheld their companions surrounded by a throng of Indians and when Jolliet announced that all was well and that they should pull to shore. After exchanging a few more words with the chief, the explorers stepped into the canoes. "We take leave of our Illinois," says the Recit, "at the end of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon." [50] "We embark in the sight of all the people, who admire our little canoes, for they have never seen any like them." [51]

From now until the day they reached the village of Mitchigamea it is impossible, with the aid of the Recit and other sources, to determine exactly when they touched at the various places along the Mississippi. To all appearances they kept close to the right bank and after a few days came to where the river makes a half circle and then continues almost due east. A little north of the present city of Alton, they beheld on one of the high bluffs, the so-called Piasa monsters.

> While skirting some rocks, which by their height and length inspired awe, we saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made us afraid, and upon which the boldest savages dare not look, or rest their eyes. They are as large as a calf; they have horns on their heads like a tiger's, a face somewhat like a man's, a body covered with scales, and so long a tail that it winds all around the body, passing above

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[49] They seem to have spent only one night at the village.

[50] Recit MS., p. 19. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

> the head and going back between the legs, ending in a fish's tail. Green, red, and black are the three colors composing the picture. Moreover, these two monsters are so well painted that we cannot believe that any savage is their author; for good painters in France would find it difficult to paint so well, —and, besides, they are so high up on the rock that it is difficult to reach that place conveniently to paint them. Here is approximately the shape of these monsters as we have faithfully copied them.[52]

The copy made on this occasion is no longer extant. Parkman thinks it may have been used a few years after the expedition for a reproduction of it on a map prepared for Duchesneau, the intendant of New France.[53] Early in the nineteenth century, Major Amos Stoddard could report that "the painted monsters . . . still remain in a good degree of preservation."[54] Gradually, however, they disappeared, so that in 1847 Wardman and Keating "found only some faint traces" of them.[55] In 1825, a pen sketch was made of what was then known as the Piasa, a name which the Illinois used to indicate a bird that devours men.[56] There being nothing in the Recit to suggest the image of a bird, it is impossible to say whether the monster sketched in 1825 is the same that the Frenchmen saw in 1673.[57] Perhaps, being on the opposite bank of the river, they failed to notice that the images had wings. Except for this detail, the pen sketch of 1825 agrees with the description in the Recit. That they saw them only from a distance may account also for the fact that in the Recit the monsters are described as being highly artistic. "They doubtless

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

[53] Parkman, Francis, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West* (Boston, 1910, Frontenac edition), p. 69, note.

[54] See Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 39, note 9.

[55] See Smith, William R., *The History of Wisconsin*, (Madison, 1854), p. 304.

[56] See Mallery, Garrick, *Picture Writing of the American Indians* in *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, (Washington, 1888-1889), p. 78.

[57] For an interesting study of this petroglyph we refer the reader to an article in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield, 1909), pp. 114-122.

gained," writes Gagnon, "by not being viewed at too close range." [58]

The explorers were still commenting on these painted monsters when they "heard the noise of a rapid" and before long saw how "an accumulation of large and entire trees, branches, and floating islands were issuing from the mouth of the river Pekistanoui. . . . So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy, and could not become clear." They were now at the mouth of the Missouri River. Since the Recit says that "several villages of Indians are located along this river" and speaks of the Missouri as a possible "means to discover the Vermillion or California sea", one is inclined to think that the explorers went ashore somewhere near the mouth of the Missouri and made friends with the natives, who readily gave them what information they desired.[59] When they attempted to pass the mouth of the Missouri, its swift current swept them to the east bank of the Mississippi. After covering a distance of about forty miles, they came to "a place that is dreaded by the savages, because they believe that a manitou is there, that is to say, a demon, that devours travellers." This manitou was nothing more than a chain of rocks along the shore, projecting some twenty feet above the water. Against these rocks the water dashed with great violence and then rushed through the narrow channel between the rocks and shore. This caused "a great din," the Recit explains, "which inspires terror in the savages, who fear everything." [60] After paddling some ten more

[58] Gagnon, p. 105.

[59] On Marquette's map the Missouri is marked as a small stream, and considerably to the west of it four villages (Ouchage, Oucmessourit, Kansa, and Paniassa) are indicated. Jolliet's map which traces the river as a large stream, has five villages (Messouri, Kansa, Ouchage, Pani, and Minongio) along its south bank. In the letter inscribed on his map, Jolliet also speaks of the possibility of reaching the Gulf of California by means of the Missouri, adding that he saw "a village which was not more than five days' journey from a nation which trades with those of California" and that if he had arrived "two days sooner" he would have spoken "to those who had come from there and had brought four hatchets as presents."

[60] Recit MS., p. 27.

miles they reached the mouth of the Ohio,[61] known to the Indians as Ouaboukigou. Night coming on they landed a short distance farther south. The next morning, probably before resuming their voyage, they met a band of Indians, from whom they learned that to the east lived the Chaouanons.[62] These tribes, already known to the French, were so numerous, they learned, "that in one district there are as many as twenty-three villages, and fifteen in another, quite near one another."[63] It was probably from these same Indians that the Frenchmen learned how to protect themselves against the annoying mosquitoes and the oppressive heat.

> They erect a scaffolding, the floor of which consists only of poles, so that it is open to the air in order that the smoke of the fire made underneath may pass through, and drive away those little creatures, which cannot endure it; the savages lie down upon the poles, over which bark is spread to keep off rain. These scaffoldings also serve them as protection against the excessive and unbearable heat of this country; for they lie in the shade, on the floor below, and thus protect themselves against the sun's rays, enjoying the cool breeze that circulates freely through the scaffolding.
>
> With the same object we were compelled to erect a sort of cabin on the water, with our sails as a protection against the mosquitoes and the rays of the sun.[64]

In this way they continued their voyage and soon came upon some Indians who were waiting for them on the river bank. Heeding their invitation to land, the explorers stepped ashore and accompanied the natives to their village.[65] Here they were again

[61] In the Recit. (p. 27) as also on the Jolliet and the Marquette map the mouth of the Ohio is placed at the 36th degree.

[62] The Shawnees. Jolliet's map places them near the Mississippi, while Marquette's has them farther to the east.

[63] Recit MS., p. 28.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[65] The Recit fails to name the village. It was probably Aganatchi, as marked on Jolliet's map. Instead of Aganatchi, the Marquette map has Monsoupelea, doubtless the village of Mounsouperia that Jolliet's map marks considerably below the Arkansas, but on the west side of the Mississippi. From this it would seem that Monsoupelea or Mounsouperia was not visited, but only heard of; and that the village visited below the mouth of the Ohio was Aganatchi, the one indicated by Jolliet.

welcomed with every token of Indian friendship and hospitality. During the feast prepared for them, the Frenchmen learned that they were "no more than ten days' journey from the sea." This greatly encouraged them. Taking leave of the Indians, whom Marquette took occasion to instruct in the Christian faith and to present with some medals, the explorers again boarded their canoes, crossed over to the west bank of the Mississippi [66] and apparently on July 14 "perceived a village on the water's edge called Mitchigamea." [67] Here for the first time on their expedition, they met Indians who manifested a hostile attitude. Only for the old men of the tribe, who recognized the calumet and for that reason held the young warriors in check, the explorers would have been killed. Assured by the elders that no harm would befall them, they pulled ashore and received a hearty welcome. As good fortune would have it, one of the old men could understand and speak a little of the Illinois tongue. When asked how far it was to the sea, the Indians replied that on this matter reliable information could be obtained "at another large village, called Akamsea, which was only eight or ten leagues lower down." Though regaled by the Indians with *sagamité* and fish, it stands to reason that the explorers, to quote the Recit, "passed the night among them with some anxiety." [68]

Early the next day, July 15, they left Mitchigamea, accompanied by the old Indian who knew Illinois and by ten other natives who went ahead apparently to protect the white men against hostile Indians. After crossing to the east bank of the Mississippi [69] and proceeding southward about twenty-five miles, they came to the village of Akamsea.[70] Evidently, their coming

[66] This is clear from Marquette's map where Metchigamea, the next village they reached, is west of the river. Jolliet's map also places a village at this place, but names it Anetihigamea.

[67] Benjamin French thinks it probable that "this village was Aminoya, where Alvarado de Moscoso built his fleet of brigantines to return to Mexico." See Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 46, note 11.

[68] Recit MS., pp. 30-32.

[69] Both maps, Marquette's and Jolliet's, place Akamsea on the east side of the river.

[70] Benjamin French identifies this village with "Guachoya where De Soto breathed his last." See Shea, *loc. cit.*, p. 46, note 11. This cannot

had been announced, for the Recit says that "when we arrived within half a league of the Akamsea, we saw two canoes coming out to meet us." After the usual ceremonies of welcome, in which the calumet figured prominently, the Indian in command of the canoes conducted the visitors to the shore "where a place had been prepared for us under the scaffolding of the chief of the warriors." To their great satisfaction they found here a young Indian "who understood Illinois much better than did the interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigamea." When asked about the sea, the Indians "replied that we were only ten days' journey from it." [71] They admitted, however, "that they were not acquainted with the natives who dwelt there, because their enemies prevented them from trading with those Europeans." In fact, they advised the Frenchmen not to go farther south, "on account of the continual forays of their enemies along the river,—because, as they had guns and were very warlike, we could not without manifest danger proceed down the river, which they constantly occupy." [72]

Among the Indians at Akamsea were a number who distrusted the white men and for that reason formed a plot to murder and rob them. But their evil design was frustrated by the chief himself, who not only performed the calumet dance for his guests to prove his friendship and guarantee their safety, but in addition presented them with the calumet, just as the Illinois chief at Peouarea had done a few weeks before.

That night, after the Indians, weary from the feasting that lasted throughout the day, had retired to their cabins, Jolliet and Marquette deliberated whether to proceed to the mouth of the river Mississippi or to turn back. Several circumstances combined to

be correct, however, unless we assume that since the days of De Soto the Indians of Guachoya had moved their village to the east bank. It is known for certain that the Spanish leader died on the west bank of the Mississippi, a short distance south of where the Arkansas empties into it. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 227.

[71] The same had been told them at Aganatchi. To the statement, "we were only ten days from it" (the sea) the Recit adds, "we could have covered the distance in five days." The reader will notice that in recounting what occurred after reaching the mouth of the Ohio River the Recit is very indefinite and ambiguous.

[72] Recit MS., p. 33.

convince them it would be unwise, not to say unnecessary, to penetrate farther south. To quote the Recit:

> After attentively considering that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees 60 minutes, while we were at 33 degrees 40 minutes, we judged that we could not be more than 2 or 3 days' journey from it; and that, beyond a doubt, the Mississippi river discharges into the Florida or Mexican gulf, and not to the east in Virginia, whose sea-coast is at 34 degrees latitude,—which we had passed, without, however, having as yet reached the sea,—or to the west in California, because in that case our route would have been to the west or the west-southwest, whereas we had always continued it toward the south. We further considered that we exposed ourselves to the risk of losing the results of this voyage, of which we could give no information if we proceeded to fling ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards who, without doubt, would at least have detained us as captives. Moreover, we saw plainly that we were not in a condition to resist savages allied to the Europeans, who were numerous, and expert in firing guns, and who continually infested the lower part of the river. Finally, we had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery. All these reasons induced us to decide upon returning; this we announced to the savages, and, after a day's rest, made our preparations for it.[73]

Marquette used this last day at Akamsea, which was a Sunday, to instruct the Indians in the truths of Christianity, while Jolliet busied himself loading the canoes with provisions for the return voyage and seeking further information regarding mineral deposits. The next morning, bidding farewell to the natives gathered along the shore, the seven Frenchmen and the Indian boy entered their canoes and began the wearisome journey up the Mississippi.

Most probably the Indians at Peouarea had told Jolliet and Marquette about their own river—the Illinois—which came from the east and emptied into the Mississippi, adding that it offered a shorter route to Green Bay than the Wisconsin by which they had come. The Recit does not say whether the explorers saw the mouth of the Illinois River on their way down the west bank of the Mississippi. If now, on the return voyage, they kept to the

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

east bank, one reason was because they wished to be sure of reaching the mouth of the Illinois, having decided to push up that river and thus reach Green Bay more quickly and with less difficulty.

To all appearances, it was at the village of Aganatchi that they landed and enjoyed the hospitality of the Indians whom they had met there a week before. Here, too, in one of the Indian cabins assigned to them for the night may have been written the Latin letter of which Professor Alvord thinks "there can be little doubt about the identity of the writer"—namely, Marquette.[74] In

[74] Alvord, Clarence Walworth, "An Unrecognized Father Marquette Letter" in *American Historical Review* (Washington, D. C.), XXV (July, 1920), 676-680. If Alvord's hypothesis to account for the misspelled name *Macput* is correct, we must assume that on this particular occasion the missionary wrote it *Marquet*. On all other occasions, however, the missionary himself as well as his confrères spelled it *Marquette*; it was so spelled by Marquette in the parish register of Baptisms on May 20, 1668; also, to mention only one of his confrères, by Allouez on the last page of the Illinois prayer book which he wrote for Marquette and which, like the baptismal entry just mentioned, is still extant. Moreover, it is hard to understand how the transcriber of the letter, when copying the date August 4th, 1675, could have read *5* instead of *3*. Immediately over that date are two other figures with a *5*; *viz.*, 35 and 275, stating the degrees of altitude and longitude. By comparison, then, the transcriber could easily have deciphered the *5* in 1675, if he had any doubt as to what the figure really was. In the Journal of his second voyage to the Illinois, which is unquestionably in Marquette's hand, there is very little similarity between his *3* and *5*. Of course, the possibility remains that on the original Latin letter, which seems to have been lost, the upper half of the three *5*'s was effaced, so that the transcriber had only the lower half to consider. Now the fact is, as appears from the above-mentioned Journal, the lower half of Marquette's *5* is somewhat similar to the lower half of his *3*. At all events, we have no absolute certainty as to the identity and authenticity of the letter; wherefore Rev. Lawrence J. Kenny, S.J., (in *America* for November 6, 1920, p. 60) concluded more than the premises allowed when he wrote that "the Alvord letter completely upsets Mr. Moses's contention." In his *Illinois: Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1889), after carefully studying the narrative of the 1673 expedition, John Moses concludes that "it is difficult to believe that the explorers could have proceeded as far south—the mouth of the Arkansas River—as has been contended" (p. 59), and he inclines to the opinion "that the village of that name Akansea, referred to as having been visited by Jolliet, was not very far

English the letter with Alvord's emendations reads as follows:

Into whosesoever hands this letter may come,
health in the Lord.

Although by lowly obedience I am nobody, I sought to lead others, whosoever they might be, to Christ our Savior. By chance it came to pass that, being seized by an impulse for spiritual things,[75] I met these savages who I believe are in friendly correspondence with Europeans. But as I understood nothing of what they said, it would please me very much if you, whoever you may be, whatever the latitude or longitude of your city, would inform me who these savages may be. Meanwhile learn this from me: the Lord has called me to the Society of Jesus, and wills that I live in the Canadian region for the welfare of the savages (whom He has redeemed by His blood); wherefore, if the Immaculate Virgin, the Mother of God, be at my side, I am certain to give up my life in these places, although the most miserable. Since Christ underwent so great sufferings for us, he certainly did not wish that we be sparing with the life which he conserves for us. So while we enjoy it, let us pray to God that in heaven (if never on earth) he may unite us.

Given at the river of the Conception, at the altitude of the pole 35d, at the longitude about 275d August 4th, 1673.

Servant in Christ Jesus and
the Immaculate Virgin
JAMES MARQUETTE, S. J.

This letter, according to Professor Alvord, Marquette left with the Indians, hoping they "would carry the letter to the Spaniards with whom they traded." Instead, they gave it to a trader from

below the mouth of the Ohio" (p. 60). This conclusion of Moses is untenable, but for other reasons than the Alvord letter. That the explorers reached the thirty-third degree, i. e., the Arkansas River, is certain only from Jolliet's report to Governor Frontenac whom he would not have ventured to deceive.

[75] "*ut captus ex Spiritualium impetu.*" Father Kenny translates this phrase "as carried captive by the power of Spirits;" but he omits it from his translation, thinking it "cannot possibly be Marquette's original" (*loc. cit.*, p. 60).

Virginia, through whom it "found its destination two and a half years later in the hands of William Byrd, also a Virginia trader. Some years later, Byrd had a copy made of it and presented this to William Penn, whom he knew to be interested in the affairs of the unknown west. Penn, in turn, entrusted the copy to his correspondent Robert Harley, "a member of the family whose manuscripts are preserved at Welbeck Abbey," where this letter was unearthed in 1893.[76]

Since the explorers found it very difficult to row against the swift current of the Mississippi,[77] nearly a month must have elapsed before they arrived at the mouth of the Illinois River. The Recit does not inform us whether, before pushing up the Illinois River, they first visited the Peouarea villages where they had been the preceding June. All we know for certain is that on the return voyage they "passed through the Illinois of Peouarea."[78] Shea is probably correct when he suggests that the Peouarea Indians, shortly after the visit of Jolliet and Marquette, left the west bank of the Mississippi and returned to their abandoned home on the Illinois; whereby they "enabled him [Marquette] to keep his promise to revisit them."[79] Certain it is that on the return voyage they spent three days among these Peouarea, during which time Marquette "preached the faith in all their cabins" and on the third day, just before departing, baptized a dying child.

The explorers were impressed with the beauty of the Illinois River and its adaptability for colonization. Says the Recit:

> We have seen nothing like this river that we enter, as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods; its cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver. That on which we sailed is wide, deep, and still, for 65 leagues. In the spring and during part of the summer there is only one portage of half a league.[80]

[76] Alvord, *loc. cit.*, p. 680.

[77] Recit MS., p. 36.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[79] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 51, note 14. See also Hamy, p. 148, note 1.

[80] Recit MS., p. 36. See also the description in Relation MS., pp. 10-12.

Continuing their voyage up the Illinois, they came to the Indian village of Kaskaskia, situated near what is now the town of Utica.[81] It does not seem that the explorers tarried any length of time at the village. Before his departure, Marquette promised the Indians to return and instruct them in the faith. Accompanied by "one of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men," the explorers paddled up the Illinois River till they came to its northern fork, the Des Plaines. Into this they steered their canoes and crossed a portage to the Chicago River, by means of which they finally reached Lake Michigan. Here the Indians left them and returned to Kaskaskia. Proceeding northward along the shore of Lake Michigan, they came to the neck of land that projects into the lake, forming a peninsula. This they rounded, continued southward along the east bank of the peninsula, passed Sturgeon Bay, and, at the end of September, arrived at the Mission of St. Francis Xavier.

The reason why Jolliet returned to Green Bay may have been the failing health of Marquette.[82] Having assured himself of the missionary's safe arrival at St. Francis Xavier Mission, Jolliet very probably went back to the Illinois country for the purpose of exploring more thoroughly the regions at the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. This is indicated by the fact that on his map he traces a river at the southeastern shore of the lake. They certainly did not reach this river when returning from the south. It may have been also on this return visit, having more leisure than Marquette's condition had previously allowed, that Jolliet discovered the various mines along Lake Michigan as also the hill which he marks on his map as Mount Jolliet. Finally, it is significant in this connection that Jolliet entitled his map *New Discovery*

[81] Kellogg (*French Regime*, pp. 166-167) finds the probable evidence in the *Jesuit Relations* that Allouez had been at this village shortly before the return of Jolliet and Marquette from their voyage to the Mississippi. There would be no doubt about it, if it were certain that the *Relation*, which reports this visit of Allouez, is for the year 1673.

[82] Jolliet does not appear to have been in a particular hurry to go to Quebec and report the results of the expedition. As to Marquette, one should expect that he would have remained in the Illinois country and founded the mission, as seems to have been the intention of his Superior.

of Several Nations in New France, in the year 1673 and 1674. These explorations could have been made in about two months, so that the Jesuit Superior really means this second expedition of Jolliet when in his Relation of August 1, 1674, he says, contrary to the statement in the Recit, that "they repaired about the end of November to the Baye des Puants."[83] One of his companions on this occasion may have been, as Neill suggests,[84] Pierre Moreau who was near the Illinois village in the winter of 1674-75 when Marquette arrived in the vicinity on his second voyage.[85]

At the end of November, therefore, Jolliet went back to Green Bay in order to spend the winter there with Marquette. Here he wrote the account of his experience during the past year, as Talon and Frontenac had instructed him to do. Of this journal he then made copies. When with the return of spring the lakes and rivers became navigable he decided to proceed to Quebec. Leaving the copies of his journal in the hands of Marquette and taking with him the original, he left Green Bay, one of his companions being the Indian boy presented to him by the chief of the Peouarea.

It must have been about the middle of May, 1674, that Jolliet took leave of Marquette with whom he had spent such an eventful year. What route he took is not known for certain. From the letter, however, which Frontenac wrote to Colbert on November 11, 1674, it would seem that, after stopping at Mission St. Ignace and Mackinac Island, the explorer crossed over to the north shore of what is now the state of Michigan and from there continued down Lake Huron, using as much as possible the rivers that flow along its shore. In this letter, written after his interview with the explorer, Frontenac says that Jolliet "has discovered admirable countries and so easy a navigation by beautiful rivers, that from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac one could go in a bark to the gulf of Mexico, having but a single unloading to make at the place

[83] Relation MS., p. 7. The Recit MS. has "at the end of September" (p. 37).

[84] Neill, Edward D., "Discovery along the Great Lakes" in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (New York, 1889), IV, 179.

[85] See Recit, p. 66. The Journal of Marquette's second voyage to Illinois, in his own handwriting, comprises pages 63-69 of the Montreal MS. which embodies also the Recit.

where Lake Ontario falls into that of Erie, which extends perhaps half a league and where one could have a settlement and construct another bark on Lake Erie." [86] The "easy navigation by beautiful rivers" that Frontenac speaks of was doubtless the Great Lakes route; wherefore Shea is correct when he writes that Jolliet "seems to have descended by Detroit river, Lake Erie, and Niagara." [87] He knew this route, having taken it in 1669.

Sailing along the north shore of Lake Ontario, they came to Fort Frontenac, about 150 miles from Montreal. Governor Frontenac erected this fort in the summer of 1673 and placed it in command of La Salle. Evidently Jolliet stopped to see the new establishment. Shea thinks that he met La Salle on this occasion and not only told him of the great river in the west but also showed him his map and journal.[88] If that is correct, we can understand why La Salle, so soon after the meeting, took steps to have the fort granted him in seigniory. This fort, he figured, might well be made the center of his operations for the exploration of the Mississippi. From Jolliet's recital and from his own expedition of 1671 he was now convinced that the Great Lakes route offered safer and easier passage to the great river than the Ohio route.[89]

About the middle of July, Jolliet and his companions left Fort Frontenac and proceeded down the St. Lawrence, little expecting the misfortune that was in store for them. At the Falls of St. Louis, known also as Lachine, traders usually placed their wares on carts and covered the remaining eight miles to Montreal by land. To shoot the rapids at this place was perilous. It may have been the afternoon of Saturday, July 21, that Jolliet reached these rapids; for a week later he ascribed his rescue from death to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, to whose memory Catholics consecrated already in those days each Saturday of the year in a special manner. Eager to get to Montreal before night set in, Jolliet decided for once to risk the rapids and thereby avoid the more tedious overland route. For a time all went well. They had already passed over the more dangerous places and come to

[86] Frontenac to Colbert, November 11, 1674, in Margry, I, 257-258.
[87] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.
[88] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. xxxiv.
[89] See Lorin, p. 94.

the outskirts of Montreal, when in their joy at sight of the first French farm houses the rowers carelessly steered into a particularly swift current. The next moment the frail canoe was beyond control. Caught sideways by the torrent, it dashed down the rapid and finally capsized. Desperately the men and the Indian boy fought the angry waters, trying to reach the shore. While his companions were at last overcome by fatigue and drowned, Jolliet struggled on. To judge from his own recital, he was cast on a projecting rock, exhausted and unconscious. Fortunately, some fishermen saw him and at the risk of their own lives came to his rescue. They dragged him to shore and after a while succeeded in reviving him. Weary and downhearted he then accompanied the fishermen to Montreal. Here lived one of his friends, Jacques Le Ber, at whose home we may suppose he spent a few days before continuing his journey to Quebec. Some time during the ensuing week he left Montreal and reached Quebec by the following Sunday, July 29. We can imagine how cordially he was welcomed home by his aged mother, by his brother Zachary, and by his many friends; how attentively they all listened to the story he had to tell them of what he experienced since leaving them nearly two years before. As agent of the government, he was in duty bound to make his first official report to the governor. This he did without delay. Frontenac deplored the loss of the map and journal. For this reason he requested the explorer to recall the facts as best he could and put them down in writing. Accordingly, Jolliet constructed a map entitled "Nouvelle Découverte de Plusieures Nations Dans la Nouvelle France en l'année 1673 et 1674—New Discovery of Several Nations in New France in the year 1673 and 1674."[90] On this map he traced the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico[91] and named it "Riviere Buade," in honor of Governor Frontenac whose family name was Buade. Similarly, the region extending west of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi he named "La Frontenacie." The Wisconsin and the Ohio rivers he left their Indian names, "Mis-

[90] For a reproduction and critical study of this and later maps constructed by Jolliet see Gravier, Gabriel, *Étude sur une Carte inconnue—La première dressée par Louis Jolliet en 1674* (Paris, 1880).

[91] A few weeks later he revised the map, and among other changes, extended the river only to the mouth of the Ohio.

konsing" and "Ouaboustikou." The Illinois he called "Riviere de la Divine, ou L'Outrelaise," in compliment to the governor's wife and her friend Mlle. Outrelaise, the former being known in court circles as La Divine on account of her beauty. The Arkansas he named "Riviere Bazire," out of deference to M. Charles Bazire, receiver-general of the king's revenues at Quebec and cousin of Clare-Frances Bissot, whom he married the following year. The Iowa and the Missouri rivers he traced, but gave them no name.[92] In a cartouche on the right-hand side of the map he had someone [93] inscribe the following letter addressed to Governor Frontenac:

To
MY LORD
The Count of Frontenac, Counselor
of the King in his councils, Governor and
Lieutenant General for his Majesty
in Canadas, Acadia, Isle of
Newfoundland and other
lands of New France

My Lord:

It is with much joy that I have (the good fortune today [94]) to present to you this map which will make known to you the location of the rivers and lakes on which one navigates across Canada or North America which has more than 1200 leagues from east to west.

[92] It is generally stated that Marquette named the Mississippi *R. de la Conception,* in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It is so named on the manuscript map preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Unfortunately, the name is not written in cursive hand, but in Roman capitals. Hence it is impossible to determine with absolute certainty that this writing is by Marquette. What must appear very strange is the fact that in the Journal of his second voyage to the Illinois, though he mentions the mission as that of the Immaculate Conception, he calls the great river by its Indian name—Mississippi. One is inclined to think that the naming of the river *de la Conception* was an afterthought of the Jesuit Superior Dablon, who certainly knew of Marquette's devotion to the Blessed Virgin under that title and privilege.

[93] As shall be noted later, Jolliet did not inscribe this letter in his own hand.

[94] Supplied from the letter on his revised map.

This great river beyond lakes Huron and Illinois which bears your name, that is Rivière Buade, for having been discovered these last years 1673 and 1674 in consequence of the first orders which you gave me when entering on your administration of New France, passes between Florida and Mexico and, in order to empty into the sea, crosses the most beautiful country that can be seen. I have seen nothing (more [95]) beautiful in France than the number of prairies that I have admired here, nothing so pleasing as the variety of groves and forests, where they gather plums, apples, pomegranates, lemons, mulberries, and several small fruits that are not known in Europe. In the fields one scares up quail, in the wood one sees parrots, in the rivers one catches fish that are unknown from their taste, form and size.

The iron mines and the bloodstones, which never collect except with red copper, are not scarce there, not more than slate, saltpeter, coal, marble, and sandstone. As to copper, the largest piece that I have seen was the size of a fist and very pure. It was discovered near some bloodstones which are much (better [96]) than those of France and numerous.

All the savages have canoes of wood 50 feet long and more. For nourishment they do not prize the deer. They kill buffaloes that go in herds of thirty and forty, (I have counted even as many as 400 of them on the banks of the river), and the turkeys are so common there that no value is set on them.

They raise Indian corn generally three times a year and all (have [97]) water melons in order to refresh themselves in the heat which admits no ice and very little snow.

By one of these great rivers that come from the west and empties into the river Buade, one will find passage to enter into the Vermillion Sea. I have seen a village which was not more that five days' journey from a nation that trades with those of California. If I had arrived two days earlier, I would have spoken to those who had come from there and had brought four hatchets as presents.

One would have seen descriptions of everything in my journal if the good fortune which had always accompanied me on this voyage had not failed me a quarter of an hour before arriving at the place from where I had set out. I had escaped the dangers from the savages, I had passed 42 rapids, I was ready to disembark with all the joy that one could have over the success of so long and difficult an enterprise, when my canoe

[95] *Idem.*

[96] *Idem.* See Gagnon, (p. 318, note 1) for the term *meslanges.*

[97] *Idem.*

capsized out of the dangers, whereby I lost 2 men and my strong box, in the sight and at the entrance of the first French houses which I had quitted nearly two years ago. Nothing is left me but life and the will to employ it for whatever may please you.

My Lord,

Your very humble and very obedient servant and subject

JOLIET.[98]

A day or so after his arrival in Quebec, Jolliet called also on the Jesuits to tell them what he and Marquette had discovered in the distant west. The misfortune that befell him in the Lachine rapids induced the Jesuit Superior, Claude Dablon, to take the explorer aside and to draw up from his dictation the following report or Relation[99] of the expedition:

Relation of the Discovery of the South Sea Accomplished by means of the Rivers of New France Transmitted from Quebec by Father Dablon, Superior General of the missions of the Society of Jesus. August 1, 1674

[98] It will be noticed that here the name is spelled with one *l*, whereas double *l* is always found on documents which are unquestionably in Jolliet's handwriting. Such documents are the letter on his second or revised map, then his letter of October 10, 1674 (*post*, p. 182), as also other writings of Jolliet pointed out and reproduced in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XII (October, 1906), 310. This goes to show that on his first map Jolliet did not inscribe the letter himself but had someone do it for him (see *ante*, note 93), which fact in turn accounts for the occasional omission of words, as noted. Furthermore, after comparing the handwriting on the two maps, it becomes plain that it is not by the same hand.

[99] See *ante*, note 36. There are four MS. copies of this Relation: the Jolliet, the Moreau, the Renaudot, and the Roman. Of these four MSS. we accept as the oldest and most authentic the first, the one in Jolliet's handwriting. It is preserved in the archives of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. The more important variants, as they appear in the Renaudot MS., will be noted. Unless mentioned, the Moreau MS. agrees with the Jolliet. Defects in sentence structure and punctuation in the Jolliet copy are doubtless due to Dablon's handwriting which, not less than the historian of to-day, Jolliet found at times hard to decipher. Our

It is two years since Monsieur de Frontenac, our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, then our Intendant, judged that it was important to apply oneself to the discovery of the sea of the south, after that which had been made of the sea of the north; and above all to know into what sea the great river discharges about which the savages relate so much and which is 500 leagues from here (beyond the) Ottawas.[100] For this project they could not have chosen a person who had better qualifications than Sieur Joliet,[101] who has much frequented those countries and who in fact has acquitted himself of it with all the magnanimity and all the tact[102] that one could expect.

Having arrived at the Ottawas, he associated himself with Father Marquette who was expecting him for that and who for a long time was contemplating this enterprise, they having frequently planned it together.

They set out with five other Frenchmen toward the beginning of June, 1673, in order to enter into countries where no European had ever set foot.[103] Having departed from the Baye des Puants at 43 degrees 40 minutes of altitude, they navigated on a small river, very gentle and very pleasant, for about 60 leagues, tending toward the west-southwest. They searched for a portage of half a league which should enable them to pass from this river to another that comes from the northwest; upon which, having embarked and having covered forty leagues toward the southwest, they at last on the 15th of June,[104] being at 42 and a half degrees, entered happily that famous river which the savages call the Mississipi, as one would say the great river, because it is in fact the most considerable of all those that are in that country. It comes from

translation is largely that of Thwaites, in *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, pp. 92-109. Thwaites used Margry's version, while Margry used apparently the Renaudot copy.

[100] Variants: Jolliet, *qui est a 500 lieus dicy oitaouax;* Renaudot, *qui est a 500 lieues au de la des Outaouacs;* Moreau, *qui est a 500 lieues dicy, au de la des Outauax.* The last reading seems the best.

[101] Here and throughout the copy Jolliet spells his name as Dablon wrote it—with one *l.* At the close, however, when he signs his name, he spells it with double *l.*

[102] *avec toute la generosite et toute la conduite.* Renaudot has merely, *avec toute la conduite.* Moreau has, *avec toute la generosite, toute ladresse, et toute la conduite.*

[103] Renaudot introduces the sentence with *Leur Journal portait que partant,* etc.

[104] All MS. copies have the 15th of June. The Recit alone has the figure corrected so as to read 17.

very far in the northern region, according to the report of the savages. It is beautiful and is ordinarily a quarter league wide. It is considerably wider at places where it is divided by islands, which are nevertheless quite uncommon. It has about ten fathoms of water, and it flows very gently up to the time that it receives the discharge of a great river which comes from the west-northwest toward the 38th degree of altitude; for, being swollen by these two waters, it becomes so violent and has so swift a current that when ascending it one can make but 4 to 5 leagues a day, rowing from morning till night.

There are woods on the two sides as far as the sea. The mightiest of the trees that one sees there are a species of cotton-wood, which are unusually stout and lofty; wherefore the savages use them to construct canoes, all of one piece, 50 feet long and 3 feet wide, in which 30 men with their baggage [105] can embark. They work them much more beautifully than we make ours, and they have so great a number of them that in a single village one sees as many as 180 of them together.[106] The nations are situated either near the great river or farther away in the lands. Our voyagers counted [107] more than 40 villages, the majority of which consist of 60 and 80 cabins, some of 300,[108] as that of the Illinois which has more than 8000 souls. All the savages who compose them seem of a good disposition. They are affable and obliging.

Our Frenchmen experienced the effects of this civility at the first village where they entered; for it was there that a present was made of a baton for smoking, three fingers long,[109] surrounded and ornamented with divers feathers, which is a great mystery among these people, because it is sort of a passport and safeguard in order to go safely everywhere without anyone daring in any way to attack those who carry this caduceus; one has only to show it and one is assured of life even in the hottest combat. As there is a baton of peace, so there is also one of war, which are not different, however,

[105] Renaudot has *trois hommes avec tout leur equipage.*

[106] Margry and, therefore, also Thwaites have 280. All the MS. copies, however, have 180.

[107] Jolliet and Moreau have *comptent,* the present tense. Renaudot has *compterent,* the preterit. Evidently, Jolliet misread Dablon's text.

[108] Jolliet is referring to the Peouarea village which he marks on his map with the following legend: *300 cabins, 180 canoes of wood fifty feet long.*

[109] Renaudot has *long de trois pieds* (feet). Perhaps Jolliet misread *doigts* (fingers) for *pieds* (feet).

except by the color of the feathers with which they are covered; the red being a sign of war, and the other colors of peace. There would be many things to say of this baton as also of the customs and usages of these people. While expecting that we shall receive the account of it, we will say merely that the women there are very reserved; wherefore their nose is cut when they do wrong.

It is they who with the old men have charge of the cultivation of the land; and when the sowings are made, all leave together in order to go to the vicinity on the hunt for wild oxen, of which they nourish themselves and of their skins make themselves garments that they cure with a certain earth which serves them also as a paint.

That soil is so fertile that they raise corn three times a year. It produces spontaneously fruits which are unknown to us, but which are excellent; the grape, plums, apples, mulberries, chestnuts, pomegranates, and many others are gathered everywhere and nearly at all times; likewise winter is known there only by the rains.

The prairies and the forests equally divide that country which provides beautiful pastures for a great number of animals with which it is stocked. The wild oxen never flee. The Father counted as many as 400 of them in a single herd. The deer, and the hinds and roes are nearly everywhere, the parrots fly there in flocks of ten or twelve, the turkeys strut about on all sides, the quail rise at every moment in the prairies.[110] It is through the middle of this beautiful country that our voyagers passed, proceeding upon the great river as far as 33 degrees of altitude, and going nearly always toward the south. From time to time they met savages, by whom they were well received through the favor of their caduceus or baton for smoking[111]; and at the end they learned from them that they were approaching the habitations of the Europeans; that they were distant from them only three days, then only two days, whom they had at their left hand; and that they had no more than 50 leagues in order to go to the sea.

It was then that this Father and the Sieur Joliet deliberated on what they should have to do, namely, whether it was expedient to pass farther, not doubting that they were going to throw themselves into the hands of the Spaniards of

[110] A slightly different arrangement of details in Renaudot and Moreau, placing the turkeys before the parrots. Jolliet may have overlooked the former and then added them immediately after parrots.

[111] Renaudot has *baston du calumet*. Throughout the Jolliet copy, the term "calumet" is never used.

Florida if they advanced farther; that they would expose the Frenchmen who accompanied them to evident danger of losing their life there; that they would lose the fruit of their labors [112] and that they would not be able to give information if they were held as prisoners; as they very probably would be if they fell into the hands of those Europeans.

These reasons made them form the resolution to retrace their steps after being well informed about everything that one can desire on such an occasion. They did not take entirely that same route, having repaired about the end of November to the Baye des Puants by different routes without any guide but their compass.[113]

We [114] can not give this year all the satisfaction [115] that one could hope for of so important a discovery, because the Sieur Joliet, who was bringing us the account of it with a very exact chart of those new countries, lost it in the shipwreck which he suffered above the St. Louis falls, near Montreal. After having cleared more than 40 of them, he was barely able to save his life, for which he contended in the water 4 hours of time. Behold nevertheless what we have been able to gather from what he has related to us.[116] Next year [117] we will give a full account, Father Marquette having kept a copy of that one which has been lost. There one will see many things likely to content the curious and satisfy the geographers concerning the difficulties which they can have over the description they make of those quarters of North America.

While waiting for the journal of this voyage we can make the following remarks concerning the utility of this discovery.

The first is that it opens for us a great road for the promulgation of the faith, and offers us an entrance to some very numerous peoples, very docile and well disposed to receive it; having manifested a great desire to receive the Father as soon as possible, and having received with respect the first words of life [118] which he announced to them. The entirely different

[112] Renaudot has *fruit of their voyage.*

[113] Here it is important to note that the Recit has *at the end of September,* while on October 24, 1674, Dablon wrote that *Marquette came back safely last spring.* See *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 59, pp. 163, 67.

[114] What follows up to *Next year,* etc., forms the two introductory paragraphs in the Renaudot copy.

[115] Renaudot has *l'instruction.*

[116] Renaudot has *apres l'avoir ouy.*

[117] What follows up to *While waiting,* etc., forms the contents, substantially, of the last paragraph in the Renaudot copy.

[118] Renaudot has merely *les paroles qu'il.*

languages of those nations do not frighten our missionaries; some of them already understand and make themselves understood in that of the Illinois who are the first that one meets there; and it is among them that Father Marquette has begun [119] to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

The second remark is concerning the limit of this discovery. The Father and the Sieur Joliet do not doubt that it is toward the gulf of Mexico, which is Florida, because on the east coast can only be Virginia, the seaboard of which is at most at the 34th degree of altitude, and they have gone as far as the 33rd and yet have approached only within 50 leagues of the sea, to the west coast. Neither can it be the Vermillion Sea, because their route, having nearly always been toward the south, turned them from it. It remains then that it is Florida which lies between the one and the other, and very probably the river which the geographers trace and call St. Esprit is Mississipi,[120] on which our Frenchmen have navigated.

The third remark is that, as it would have been very desirable that the limit of this discovery had been the Vermillion Sea which would at the same time have given entrance into the sea of Japan and China, so one must not despair of succeeding in this discovery of the western sea by means of the Mississipi: because ascending to the northwest by the river which discharges at the 38th degree, as we have said, one will perhaps arrive at some lake which discharges toward the west that what is sought and what is all the more to be hoped for as all those lands are covered with lakes and broken by rivers which afford wonderful means of communication between those countries one with the other, as one can judge from that.[121]

The fourth remark which concerns an advantage, very considerable and which will hardly be believed by one, is that we should be able quite easily to go as far as Florida in a bark and by a very pleasant navigation. There would have to be made but one canal intersecting only half a league of prairie in order to enter from the foot of the lake of the Illinois into the river of St. Louis [122] which discharges into

[119] Renaudot has *va commencer—is going to begin.*

[120] Renaudot has *Messipi.*

[121] *comme on en peut juger par la.* Thwaites (*Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 294, note 8) is probably correct when he suggests that at this point Dablon may be referring to a map Jolliet had drawn. We may add that no two of the MS. copies agree at this point.

[122] Here the Renaudot and Moreau copies insert *voici la route qu'on tiendrait, la barque,* etc.

the Mississipi; being there, the bark would navigate easily as far as the gulf of Mexico. The fort of Catarokouy which Monsieur the Count of Frontenac has had constructed at Lontario would greatly aid that enterprise, because it would facilitate the communication of Quebec with Lake Erie, from where this fort is not much distant, and, were it not for a waterfall that separates Erie from Lontario, the bark that is built at Catarokouy could go as far as Florida by the routes which I have just traced.

The fifth is the great advantages there are in establishing new colonies in countries so beautiful and on lands so fertile. Here is what the Sieur Joliet says about it, for it is his idea. In the beginning when one spoke of those lands without trees, I imagined a seared country, or that the land there was wretched, so that it could produce nothing. But we have observed the contrary, and no better can be found either for corn or for grape or for any fruits whichever they might be.

The river which we have named St. Louis [123] and which reaches us from the foot of the lake of the Illinois, appeared to me the most beautiful and the most easy to be settled. The place at which we entered into that lake is a harbor very suitable to receive there the vessel and to shield them from the wind. This river is wide and deep, stocked with brills and sturgeons. Game is there in abundance; the oxen, the cows, the deer, the turkeys appear there much more than elsewhere; during the space of 80 leagues,[124] I was not a quarter of an hour without seeing some. There are prairies 3, 6, 10, and 20 leagues in length and 3 in width, surrounded by forests of the same extent, beyond which the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of the one as of the other. Sometimes one finds the grass very low, sometimes one sees it 5 to 6 feet high. The hemp which grows spontaneously there rises to 8 feet.

A settler would not spend ten years cutting down timber and burning. About the same day that he arrives there, he would put the plow in the ground and, if he had no oxen from France, he would make use of those of the country or of those animals which the savages of the west have, on which they have themselves carried as we on our horses. After the sowing of all kinds of grain, they would apply themselves above all to planting the vine and grafting the fruit trees, to curing skins of oxen of which they would make themselves cloth

[123] On both his maps he named this river *La Divine,* and not St. Louis—another clear indication that he was not writing to the governor.

[124] Renaudot has 8 leagues.

> which would be much finer than that which we import from France.[125] Thus they would find there wherewith to nourish and clothe themselves. Nothing would be wanting but salt; but it would not be difficult to anticipate this inconvenience by the precautions that one could take.

In the heading of the Relation, as copied by Jolliet, it is not stated to whom the Jesuit Superior addressed it under date of August 1, 1674. That he addressed it to the French Provincial Superior, Jean Pinette, is certain, however, from the MS. that existed twenty-five years ago in the Jesuit archives of the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève, Paris.[126]

A few weeks after Jolliet's return to Quebec, the transport vessels, as usual, arrived from France. In this way, no doubt, it became known in Canada that, the king being now willing to have Canada erected into a diocese independent of Rouen, the official act of the Holy See was only a question of time[127] and that the first bishop of the new diocese would be Monsignor de Laval. Accordingly, the Jesuit Superior suggested to Jolliet that he acquaint the bishop, who was still in Paris, with the results of the recent expedition. To this end he loaned Jolliet the original draft of the Relation which he had drawn up on August 1. This Jolliet copied, as we have seen, and under date of October 10 added the following observations of his own[128]

Quebec, October 10, 1674.

My Lord:

> It is not long since I am back from my voyage to the sea of the south. I had good fortune during the whole time. But on returning, being about to disembark at Montreal, my canoe upset and I lost two men and my strong box wherein were all the papers and my journal with some rarities of those so

[125] Renaudot has *qui seraient plus fines que plusieurs de celles qu'on nous aporte de France.*

[126] See Cordier, Henri, "Sur le Père Marquette" in *Mélanges Américains*, Paris, 1913), p. 63. This is a critical description of the MSS. pertaining to Marquette, then in the archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. We endeavored to obtain these in photostat, but in vain; we have it on reliable authority that the MSS. are no longer in the archives mentioned.

[127] The diocese was officially erected on October 1, 1674.

[128] This portion of the document is found only in the St. Sulpice MS.

distant countries. I am much grieved over a little slave, ten year old,[129] who had been presented to me. He was endowed with a good disposition, quickwitted, diligent, and obedient. He expressed himself in French, began to read and write.[130] After being 4 hours in the water, having lost sight and consciousness, I was rescued by some fishermen who never go to this place and who would not have been there if the Blessed Virgin had not obtained for me this grace from God, Who stayed the course of nature in order to have me rescued from death.

Only for the shipwreck, Your Grace[131] would have quite a curious relation. Nothing, however, was left but life.

I descended as far as the 33rd degree between Florida and Mexico, being about 5 days' journey from the sea. Not being able to avoid falling into the hands of the Europeans, I decided to return. I followed a river undivided and not rapid and as great as the St. Lawrence stream in front of Sillery, that empties into the Gulf of Mexico. I have discovered on our route more than 80 villages of savages, each of 60 to 180 cabins. I have seen but one of 300 where we conjectured that there were fully ten thousand souls[132] among whom *nullus est qui faciat bonum.*[133] They all have canoes of wood 50 feet long and 3 wide, some more or less. Many of these nations raise corn three times a year, pumpkins and watermelons. Snow is not known there, but only rain. They do

[129] Jolliet would hardly have meant this boy as one of the "two men." Hence it would seem that actually three persons were drowned.

[130] He had been instructed, no doubt, by Jolliet himself and by Marquette. Gagnon (p. 135) thinks the boy's teacher was Father Druillettes. But this missionary was at Sault Sainte-Marie at the time; and as we have seen, there is more reason to suppose that Jolliet spent the time between his return from the south and his departure for Quebec at Green Bay with Marquette than that he spent it at Sault Sainte-Marie.

[131] The use of this title shows conclusively that Jolliet wrote this letter to Bishop de Laval and not, as Rochemonteix (vol. III, 21) and others claim, to Governor Frontenac. The same is certain from Jolliet's complimentary close: *Your Grace's very humble and very obedient servant.* In his letter to Frontenac, inscribed on the map, Jolliet closed with *Your very humble and very obedient servant and subject.* Here he added *subject* because he wrote officially as a government agent, whereas in the other case he wrote unofficially as a friend. See also *ante*, note 123, and *post*, notes 133, 149.

[132] He had just copied from Dablon's Relation that there were 8000.

[133] *there is none that doeth good*—Ps. 14:1. Here is another indication that he was writing to Bishop de Laval.

not lack fruits as plums, apples, chestnuts, pomegranates, pine-apples, mulberries like those of France, but sweeter, and several small fruits which I do not know.

The birds are partridge, snipe, quail, ostriches, parrots, and turkeys.

The oxen or buffaloes meet there as, on the islands,[134] everywhere and numerous. I have seen and counted[135] as many as 400 of them together in a prairie, but the ordinary is to see thirty or forty of them. Their meat is excellent. They are easy to kill. The deer, the hinds, and the roebucks are there only in places. All those savages, those fruits, those birds, and those animals are in a country more beautiful than France. There are prairies of three and four leagues, surrounded by forests of the same size beyond which the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of the one as of the other. I am,

My Lord

Your Grace's
Very humble and very obedient
servant,

JOLLIET.[136]

Not only the Jesuit Superior, but also Governor Frontenac realized that the information obtained by Jolliet regarding the Mississippi River was of the highest importance. Though confident that the king would approve the founding of a colony and thereby the establishment of temporal authority in the newly explored west, the governor was not so certain as to what attitude Colbert would take in the matter. The latter, he knew, had all along manifested deeper interest in the development of trade and commerce than in the acquisition and colonization of new territories. For this reason the governor devised a plan which he expected would win the favor and therefore also the support of the colonial minister. It may have been about the time that Jolliet was writing to Bishop de Laval that Frontenac summoned the explorer and told him that an official report of the expedition

[134] *sy voient comme aux Iles*—the meaning is not clear, unless he is comparing the vast prairies to islands.

[135] He just copied from Dablon's Relation that it was Marquette who "counted as many as 400 in a single herd."

[136] Relation MS., pp. 12-16.

would have to be sent to the home government; wherefore he should draw up from memory a report and also revise the map which he had made shortly after his return. Accordingly, Jolliet traced a map which for beauty of design and richness of detail is far inferior to the one he had previously made and presented to the governor. As Frontenac directed, the name of the great river was changed into "Colbert," while the region previously named "Frontenacie" was now changed to "Colbertie." The Illinois River remained "La Divine," but the name "L'Outrelaise" was dropped. The letter to Frontenac was inscribed also on this revised map; but this time it was addressed to Colbert and its wording was changed to correspond with the new names. Besides these changes, there are others together with numerous omissions which it is hard to account for. Thus the Arkansas was no longer called "Bazire" but, like the Missouri and Ohio rivers, was left unnamed. The Iowa was not traced at all. Neither were any of the Indian villages or of the mines indicated, as on the earlier map. Most remarkable is the fact that on his revised map Jolliet no longer extended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, but only to the mouth of the Ohio. As to the legend referring to La Salle, it is generally assumed that this was added later. Gravier says that when drawing this map, "Jolliet used all the information gathered by Cavelier de la Salle, the Jesuit Fathers, Galinée, Du Luth, and that it presents the state of the discoveries at the end of 1674." [137] While this may be correct, it does not explain why Jolliet should have made so many changes and omissions, unless we assume that the earlier map presented more than the explorers actually saw and visited. While this is indeed true in regard to some of the Indian villages, it is certainly not true in regard to the Mississippi which Jolliet himself says he descended to the thirty-third degree, that is to the mouth of the Arkansas.

Some time early in November, Jolliet brought this revised map to Frontenac, together with a written account of the expedition. In drawing up this account he again used Dablon's report of August 1, as the subjoined translation of the document clearly shows:

[137] Gravier, *Etude*, p. 8.

Relation of New France—1673 [138]

The said Joliet who departed from Quebec by order of Monsieur de Frontenac for the discovery of the South Sea would have brought back an exact relation of his voyage if, on his return, after having passed 42 rapids in his canoe, [it] had not capsized at the foot of Sault Saint-Louis, in sight of Montreal, whereby he lost his strong box and two men.

He says then only from memory something of the chart which he had made accurately, according to the rhumb-lines, in this manner.

Departing from the Baye des Puans, at 43 degrees 40 minutes, I had reached sixty leagues toward the west on a river in order to find a portage of half a league, at the end of which I had embarked with six men [139] on the river Miskonsing, which, coming from the northwest and having taken us aslant forty leagues southwest, made us enter happily into the river Colbert or, according to the savages, Mississipi, at 42½ degrees, on June 15th, [140] 1673.

This river is half a league wide and it is not swift at the head; but below 38 degrees, a river that comes from the west-northwest renders it very violent, so that when ascending one can make only five leagues a day. The savages assert that there is little current.[141] There are trees on both sides as far as the sea; the cottonwood are there so large that canoes are made from them eight [142] feet long and three wide, which carry thirty men. He saw 180 of them in a village of 300 cabins.

There are hollies and trees of which the bark is white, grapes, apples, plums, chestnuts, pomegranates, pawpaws, [assons] which is a small fruit that is not at all known in Europe, and mulberries in abundance, turkeys everywhere, parrots in flocks and quail, oxen that do not flee. He counted 400 of them in a prairie.[143] There are in places deer and

[138] It is so headed in the MS. copy preserved in the Bibliothèque National (Paris), Collection Renaudot, vol. 30, pp. 176-177. We translate from this MS. (photostat copy), supplying or correcting punctuation when necessary.

[139] It seems strange that he does not mention Marquette by name.

[140] Margry (I, 259) has June 25, having evidently misread 25 for 15.

[141] Strange that he should adduce the testimony of the Indians for something contrary to what he himself experienced.

[142] Elsewhere he invariably says 50 feet long. Perhaps a mistake of the copyist.

[143] In his letters to Laval and to Frontenac, Jolliet says, as here, that he

roebucks. The savages there are modest, affable, and obliging. The first gave them a baton or calumet[144] adorned with feathers, which is a secure passport; even in combat one is assured of his life.

In all the villages the women, who are very reserved and whose nose it cut when they do wrong, have charge of the cultivation of the land, with the old men. They raise corn three times a year. Some of it is ripe when the other springs from the earth. Winter is known only by the rains. They have watermelons, large pumpkins, and squashes of all kinds. When they have sown, they all leave together to go hunting in the neighborhood and kill oxen, the meat of which they eat, and they cover themselves with the skin which they cure with some earth that serves them as a paint.

They have hatchets, knives, etc., which they obtain from the Europeans as well from our coast as from that of Spain and which they get in exchange for beavers and roebucks. Those who are near the sea have muskets.

This river winds but little and goes always to the south. Having descended to the 33rd degree, near to falling into the hands of the Spaniards if[145] they had coasted six days, and seeing that the river did not go to the Vermillion sea, which is the one sought, and being certain that there is no question at all of others, he decided to return[146] from the portals of Spain, after having questioned the savages who are only about thirty leagues from them to the west and those of the mouth who are only fifty from them. He says moreover that in the journal which he had drawn up was the description of iron mines in abundance[147] Many bloodstones with copper, which indicate the mother-mine, were the first; then followed the description of the sandstones, of white and black marble, of coal, and of saltpeter, with all the circumstances. He had finally made

himself counted them; while the Relation MS. of August 1, 1674, says that Marquette counted them. Hence the Jesuit Superior is the only one who says this; and Jolliet, though he copied the statement, corrected it when supplementing his own observations.

[144] Here Jolliet uses this term for the first time.

[145] The MS. has *q'ils* for what must be *s'ils*—evidently a mistake of the copyist.

[146] In his letter to Bishop de Laval as also in the Relation MS. we read that Jolliet and Marquette deliberated together and decided to return.

[147] The description of these mines is actually in the Recit, the authorship of which is universally ascribed to Marquette.

mention of places which were suitable for founding new colonies and of the beauty and bounty of the lands.

Those lands are very fertile and are very good for wine, for corn, and for all the fruits.

The river Saint-Louis which comes from near Missichiaganen[148] appeared to him the most beautiful and the most easy to be populated. The harbor, by which he passed into the lake, is very suitable for receiving the vessels and sheltering them from the wind. The river is wide and deep, stocked with game; the deer, the oxen, and the turkeys appear there in greater number than elsewhere. In the space of 80 leagues he was not a quarter of an hour without seeing some.

There are prairies 3, 6, 10 and 20 leagues long and 2 and 3 wide, surrounded by forests of the same extent, beyond which the prairies begin again, so that there is as much of it on one side as on the other; in places the grass is low, but in others 3, 5, and 6 feet high. Natural hemp which grows without planting rises to 8 feet. A settler would not be there as here ten years cutting timber and burning it. On the same day he would put his plow in the earth and, if he had no oxen from France, those of the country would serve him, or else those animals the savages of the west have, on which they mount as we on our horses. He would raise good grapes, graft trees, use the skins of oxen and make cloth of their wool, finer than the red and blue blankets of the Iroquois.[149] Thus one would find in this country all that is necessary for life and comfort, except salt which one could get elsewhere.

This report together with the revised map Governor Frontenac transmitted to Colbert, adding under date of November 11, 1674, the following remarks of his own:[150]

[148] By that name, besides *Lac des Illinois*, was known Lake Michigan. It seems strange that here again he should call the Illinois River by the name of Saint Louis, while his map has La Divine.

[149] In the Relation MS. he compares the cloth with that imported from France. Now he prudently changes the comparison, because he is reporting to government officials.

[150] See Gagnon, pp. 141-143; 316-320. Frontenac's remarks are printed in Margry (I, 257-258). They are part of the governor's regular report for the year 1674 and they are dated November 11, not November 14. Brodhead (IX, 116-121) places the report, of which he brings only extracts, under date of November 14. It was on this day that Frontenac recommended La Salle to the French government, which extract from his report Brodhead does not print.

The Sieur Jolliet, whom M. Talon advised me to send for the discovery of the sea of the south when I arrived from France, got back three months ago. He discovered admirable countries and so easy a navigation over beautiful rivers that from Lake Ontario and Fort Frontenac one could go by bark even to the Gulf of Mexico, not having but a single unlading to make at the place where Lake Ontario falls into that of Erie, which extends perhaps half a league and where one could have a settlement and construct another bark on Lake Erie.

These are projects which one will be able to undertake when peace will be restored [151] and when it will please the king to pursue these discoveries.

He has been as far as ten days' journey near the gulf of Mexico, and he believes that by the rivers which from the west empty into the great river that he found, which goes from north to south and which is as large as that of St. Lawrence, facing Quebec, one would find communication that would lead to the Vermillion Sea and to California.

I am sending you by my secretary the map which he made of it and the remarks which he was able to recall, having lost all his memoirs and his journals in the shipwreck that he suffered in sight of Montreal, where he was near drowning after [having] made a voyage of twelve hundred leagues, and lost all his papers and a little savage whom he was bringing with him from those countries, which I greatly regret.

He had left at Lake Superior, at the Sault of Sainte-Marie with the Fathers, copies of his journals,[152] which we shall be able to have next year, from which you will learn still more particulars of this discovery of which he has acquitted himself very well.

Shortly after his interview with Jolliet, the Jesuit Superior took steps to establish a mission among the Illinois and presumably also to obtain the copies of Jolliet's journal. The men, whom he entrusted for the purpose of conveying a message to Marquette, must have reached Green Bay some time early in October. As Dablon learned later on and recorded in his account of Marquette's

[151] The governor is referring to the second war of spoliation which Louis XIV was waging against Holland and Spain.

[152] This statement contradicts what Dablon wrote on August 1 and Jolliet copied on October 10; namely, that Marquette was keeping copies of the journal that had been lost. See p. 288.

second voyage and death, the great hardships of the first voyage had brought upon him a bloody flux, and had so weakened him that he was giving up hope of undertaking a second voyage. However, his sickness decreased; and, as it had almost entirely abated by the close of summer in the following year, he obtained the permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois and there begin that fair mission.[153]

Marquette was overjoyed when the men arrived and delivered Dablon's message. Without delay he prepared for his return to the Illinois country. Possibly on the first day of the journey when, as he wrote, "the wind compelled us to pass the night at the outlet of the river," [154] he began his Journal with the following entry:

> Having been compelled to remain at St. François [155] throughout the summer on account of an ailment, of which I was cured in the month of September, I awaited there the return of our people from down below,[156] in order to learn what I was to do with regard to my wintering. They brought me orders to proceed to the mission of La Conception among the Illinois. After complying with Your Reverence's request for copies of my journal concerning the Mississipi River, I departed with Pierre Porteret and Jacque ———, on the 25th of October, 1674, about noon.[157]

Marquette says here that he was awaiting "the return of our people from down below, in order to learn what I was to do with regard to my wintering." This certainly implies that he had previously sent word to his Superior, asking to go back to the Illinois. The bearer of his message may have been Jolliet; in which case the loss of Jolliet's maps and papers was the reason why Dablon immediately transmitted instructions to the missionary at Green Bay. Marquette, on his part, was not inclined to let his illness interfere with his eagerness to keep the promise he had made the Indians at Kaskaskia. Accordingly, when Jolliet bade

[153] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 185.

[154] He means the Fox River, where it empties into Green Bay.

[155] St. Francis Xavier Mission, at Green Bay.

[156] Thus the missionaries in the west and northwest designated the eastern sections of New France.

[157] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 165.

him farewell at Green Bay, Marquette doubtless requested the explorer to say nothing about his ailment, assuring him that he was already feeling better and that by the time the Superior's permission reached Green Bay, he would be entirely cured.[158] The permission finally arrived and, as already stated, on October 25,[159] accompanied by two *donnés,* Marquette departed for the Illinois country.

Steering their canoe northward, they entered what is now Sturgeon Bay. Here they landed, crossed the portage to Lake Michigan, and then continued their voyage southward along its west bank. Apparently on December 12 they reached the mouth of a little stream, today known as the Chicago River. Up this river they paddled for about five miles, landed near a portage and there pitched camp. "We resolved to winter there," writes the missionary, "as it was impossible to go farther, since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself much fatigue."[160] During the winter that followed, they were visited by two Frenchmen then residing near the Indian village of Kaskaskia. One of these was Pierre Moreau, known as La Taupine. Through these the news of Marquette's arrival reached the Indians at Kaskaskia. Early in February, Marquette's condition improved. But the rivers were still unnavigable and it was not until March 30 that the missionary could enter in his Journal: "The barrier has just broken, the ice has drifted away; and, because the water is already rising, we are about to embark to continue our journey."[161]

On Wednesday in Holy Week, April 10,[162] the missionary and his two companions arrived at the Indian village. The following day Marquette assembled the natives and, after instructing them in the faith, celebrated Holy Mass in their presence. These cere-

[158] In his letter to the Provincial, dated October 24, 1674, Dablon says nothing about Marquette's illness. See for this letter *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 65-83.

[159] In his account of Marquette's second voyage and death, Dablon says that "he set out . . . . in the month of November, 1674, from the Baye des Puants" (*Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 185).

[160] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 173.

[161] *Ibid.*, p. 181.

[162] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

monies he repeated on Easter Sunday. Doubtless at the instance of his companions, who saw how rapidly he was weakening under the strain, the heroic missionary finally consented to return to St. Ignace, where he could more easily obtain medical attention. Bidding farewell to the disappointed Indians and promising either to come back himself or to have a missionary sent to them, "he set out with so many tokens of regard on the part of those good peoples that, as a mark of honor they chose to escort him for more than thirty leagues on the road, vying with each other in taking charge of his slender baggage." [163]

Arriving at Lake Michigan, they steered their canoe around its southern extremity and then continued northward up its eastern shore. On the testimony of Marquette's companions, Dablon wrote later that the missionary's "strength was so rapidly diminishing that the two men despaired of being able to bring him alive to the end of their journey. Indeed, he became so feeble and exhausted that he was unable to assist or even to move himself, and had to be handled and carried about like a child." [164] Marquette, too, gradually began to realize that his last hour was fast approaching. "Eight days before his death," writes Dablon, "he was thoughtful enough to prepare the holy water for use during the rest of his illness, in his agony, and at his burial; and he instructed his companions how it should be used." [165]

It was apparently on Friday, May 17, that they came to the mouth of a small river near the present town of Luddington. Here a heavy wind arose, which compelled them to turn into the river and seek shelter on its bank. Convinced that for the present it was impossible to proceed farther, the men gathered brushwood and leaves in order to erect a cabin in which the missionary might rest and possibly regain sufficient strength to continue the journey after a day or so. Marquette knew better, however, and told his companions that they would have to continue without him. Saturday morning, May 18, calling them to his side, he instructed them what to do when they noticed that he was in his last agony. Then he administered to them the Sacrament of Penance and "gave them also a paper on which he had written all his faults

[163] *Ibid.*, p. 191. [164] *Ibid.*, p. 193. [165] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

since his own last Confession, that they might place it in the hands of the Father Superior."[166] In the course of the day his condition became steadily worse and that Saturday night, repeating the sacred names of Jesus and Mary and calmly gazing on the Crucifix that one of the *donnés* held before him,

> he expired without a struggle, and so quietly that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep. His two poor companions, shedding many tears over him, composed his body in the manner which he had prescribed to them. Then they carried him devoutly to burial, ringing the while the little bell, as he had bidden them; and planted a large cross near to his grave, as a sign to passers-by.[167]

Thus, on the bank of the little river that later bore his name and in sight of the lake that was called after the Illinois Indians whose conversion to Christianity had been the desire of his heart ever since he met them at Chequamegon Bay, died the missionary whose name is so intimately connected with the first French exploration of the Mississippi River. It was not for the saintly Marquette to witness and participate in the conflict of interests that the 1673 expedition was destined to provoke and that at the very moment when he was breathing his last on the shores of Lake Michigan was beginning to rear its head in distant Quebec. Had Marquette lived and regained his health, what a trusty and well-informed guide his report would be through the labyrinth of problems which this conflict created and which to the present day bewilders the historian in his search for the truth.

[166] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[167] *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201.

CHAPTER IV

The Nature of the Expedition

Historical writers generally designate the 1673 expedition as the discovery of the Mississippi River and thereby convey the impression that Jolliet and Marquette were the first white men to obtain sight of the great waterway. This erroneous conception regarding the nature of the enterprise is due in part to a misapplication of the term "discovery" and in part to a number of misstatements of other established facts. Upon closer investigation it will be found that some writers broadened the meaning of the term by making it include also the idea of exploration, while others not only restricted the term to such enterprises as resulted in permanent knowledge of the object discovered but in addition contended that after its discovery by the Spaniards the existence of the river was gradually forgotten. Naturally, this last-mentioned supposition will have to be discussed at some length. Before doing this, however, it is indispensable to define the precise meaning of "discovery" and to show how it has been misapplied to the 1673 expedition.

A word is a symbol used by standard writers or speakers to convey an idea. The correctness of the idea conveyed depends upon the correctness of the symbol employed. The symbol or word is employed correctly if it is employed in its standard meaning. In a living language, like English, the meaning of a word may undergo radical changes. At one time in reputable use, it may later be classified as archaic or even obsolete. Now, to employ an archaic or obsolete term is objectionable also in history. Accuracy and precision are indispensable in this as in every other science. The historian must not only present the past as he finds it recorded, but in addition present it in such a way as to create in the minds of his readers or hearers a picture that is entirely in accord with what he finds in the records. For this reason it is essential that he use terms in their standard

meaning. Otherwise he runs the risk of misrepresenting the fact he relates and other facts connected with it.

According to standard usage, the English verb "to discover" means "to obtain for the first time sight or knowledge of, as of a thing existing already, but not known or perceived." According to this definition, the idea of "discovery" comprises a threefold element. In the first place, the object itself must be in existence at the time when sight or knowledge of it is obtained. It is in this respect that "discovery" differs essentially from "invention." The identity of lightning and electricity existed long before Benjamin Franklin discovered it; not so, however, the use of the electric telegraph at the time when Samuel Morse by a combination of known principles invented it. The second and third elements of "discovery" are so closely associated that one follows necessarily from the other. If at a given time the object is already known to exist, knowledge of its existence was evidently obtained at an earlier date; wherefore the present acquisition of it can not be first in point of time and consequently can not be called a "discovery" of the object. It is, therefore, correct to say that Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean, that Ponce de León discovered Florida, that Magellan discovered the strait which bears his name. The oblivion into which the object may have subsequently fallen does not undo the fact of its having been discovered. If incontestable evidence is adduced that the object was sighted or known at an earlier date, the sight or knowledge of its existence at a later date ceases to be a discovery. In that case, it is at best a rediscovery. If it is certain that the Northmen reached America centuries before Columbus, then it is certain also that Columbus is not the discoverer of America. An interesting case, illustrating this point and at the same time demonstrating the current meaning of the term "to discover," appeared in a recent press report from Honolulu. The report read: "What is declared to be positive proof that the Spanish, and not the English, discovered the island-group known as Hawaii is contained in a document in the archives at Barcelona, Spain. . . . Credit for the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands has been generally given to Capt. James Cook, an English navigator, who, in January, 1778, sighted the northern island of Kaual, and who later returned and visited

all the islands." Accordingly, assuming the authenticity of this document, credit for the discovery of the Hawaiian islands can no longer be given to James Cook, regardless of the fact that after their discovery by the Spaniards the islands had not been occupied by white men and the knowledge of their existence had been largely forgotten. In this connection it is also of the greatest importance to distinguish carefully between "discovery" and "exploration." One who acquires further information regarding an object known to exist may be said to have discovered what he was seeking, but it is a paralogism to say that in so doing he discovered the object itself. Thus the information which Coronado obtained concerning the Seven Cities was the result of having explored what Marcos de Niza had previously discovered. Coronado explored the Seven Cities, that is, he set out "to make or conduct a systematic search" of the cities in the hope of establishing a theory supposed to have some connection with them. From this it follows, too, that Moscoso can not be designated as the first white man who explored the Mississippi. When, after the death of De Soto, he plied his seven barges down the river, it was not to find out where it disembogued, what tributaries it had, what sort of people lived on its banks, or what possibilities there were for colonization. Convinced that the river emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, he concluded that by following it southward he would reach the gulf and eventually also Mexico. His primary object was not to seek information regarding the river, but to rescue the survivors of the ill-fated expedition.

The true conception of "discovery" is implicitly conceded by such as insist on applying the term to the expedition of 1673. To justify themselves, they endeavor to prove that in the course of time elapsing after the Spanish enterprises the existence of the Rio del Espíritu Santo had been forgotten. Thus by implication they admit that, unless Jolliet and Marquette were the first white men to see and learn of the great river, their expedition can not be properly called a discovery.

The sources from which English writers drew for their accounts of the 1673 expedition were written in the French language. French terminology, however, gives a wider meaning to the verb "découvrir" than standard usage permits for the English verb

"to discover."[1] Thus when Father Dablon says that the material advantages of Hudson Bay can be realized only after it is "well discovered,"[2] he means to say that the bay and its surrounding territory must first be well explored. Similarly, when Frontenac assures Colbert that Jolliet is "a man very skilful in these kinds of discoveries,"[3] he has in mind what in English would have to be styled explorations. To cite a French writer of the middle of the nineteenth century: Discussing the relative claims of Jolliet and La Salle, Rev. Jules Tailhan, S. J., states that La Salle "completed the discovery of the Mississipi begun by Jolliet and Marquette in 1673."[4] This statement gives no sense if the term "discovery" is taken to mean the acquisition of the first sight or knowledge obtained of the river. What Father Tailhan wishes to say is that La Salle explored the Mississippi south of the Arkansas, namely that portion which was not explored in 1673. In the same wider meaning was the French term "découvrir" used by Sulte when he wrote that the Mississippi "has been discovered[5] at least six times, in sections, beginning at the low part, then the middle, after that the sources and, finally, the mouth."[6]

By following too literally the wording of their French sources and by applying the term "discovery" without proper discrimination, English writers of the eighteenth century began styling the 1673 expedition a discovery of the Mississippi River. Though they were certainly cognizant of the earlier expeditions of the Spaniards, it seems never to have occurred to them that in view of these Spanish enterprises the later one of Jolliet ought not to be called a discovery. At all events, the custom of styling it a discovery continued throughout the nineteenth century and it is followed by

[1] The same is true regarding the Spanish and Italian equivalents, "descubrir" and "scoprire." In German, however, as in English, one distinguishes between "entdecken" and "erforschen" ("to discover" and "to explore").

[2] "*ce qu'étant bien découverte.*" *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, pp. 137-139.

[3] "*un homme fort entendu dans ces sorts de découvertes.*" Frontenac to Colbert, November 11, 1672, in Margry, I, 255.

[4] "*termina la découverte du Mississipi.*" Tailhan, p. 280.

[5] "*a été découvert.*" Sulte, Benjamin, *Mélanges Historiques* (Montreal, 1919), II, 51.

[6] Sulte, *loc. cit.*

most writers also at the present day. Frequently the writers are found to be inconsistent. Among these must be numbered John Gilmary Shea. One need but consult his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* published in 1852, to see how promiscuously he employed the two terms, referring to the expedition of Jolliet now as a discovery, then as an exploration of the Mississippi. He was too deeply versed in the history of Spanish North America, however, not to notice the mistake, once his attention was drawn to it. Hence as early as 1855, in a controversy with John Law, he defended the title of Father Marquette "as the first great explorer of the Mississippi, and to a certain extent as its discoverer." [7] On another occasion he insisted on the standard interpretation of the term "discovery." This was in the case of the La Salle expedition to the Illinois country, 1679-80. To Membré's statement that "the discovery had already been pushed four or five hundred leagues" Shea objected saying that "in fact no discovery had been made" by La Salle, because "the Illinois country was visited by traders before Marquette's second voyage to it, and was perfectly known; Allouez, too," he adds, "was there shortly before this, as La Salle himself states." [8] Another prominent writer who employed the terms "discovery" and "exploration" indiscriminately was Reuben Gold Thwaites. He wrote, for example, that "Jolliet and Marquette . . . sought the Mississippi in the true spirit of exploration. . . . . To them therefore as to Columbus we accord the chief honor of a well-planned discovery, which was of world-wide significance." [9] But, like Shea, he modified this statement when in another work he told his readers that Jolliet and Marquette "re-discovered the Mississippi." [10] Similarly, Folwell designates the 1673 expedition as "a capital example of true exploration" and

[7] Wisconsin State Historical Society, *An. Rpt. and Proc.*, 1856 (Madison, 1857), p. 111. Originally, Shea's reply to Law had appeared in the *Catholic Telegraph* for March 10, 1855.

[8] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 97.

[9] Thwaites, *Father Marquette* (New York, 1902), p. 139.

[10] Thwaites, *The Colonies* in *Epochs of American History* (New York, 1902), p. 248. See also his *France in America* in *The American Nation* Series (New York, 1905), p. 45.

then immediately contends that Jolliet and Marquette "ought to be and will be considered its [the river's] discoverers."[11]

But it was not only through an undue expansion of the term "discovery" and a lack of discrimination between it and "exploration" that the enterprise of 1673 has come to be called a discovery. Other writers, eager to vindicate to Jolliet and Marquette the title of discoverers of the Mississippi, proceeded along different lines. Whereas the former employed the term in its broader meaning, the latter narrowed it down so as to be applicable only to cases where the object discovered was permanently known. Then, to clinch the argument in favor of the 1673 expedition, they assumed that nothing resulted from the Spanish discovery of the Mississippi and that in fact the existence of the river was no longer known in the days of Jolliet. While their definition of "discovery" is wholly arbitrary and therefore negligible, their assumption regarding the Spanish discovery contravenes historical facts, as will be shown in its proper place. A French writer who proceeds along the lines just indicated is Ernest Gagnon. He rejects the opinion of those who hold that, as "Ferdinand de Soto happened to expire on the banks of the Mississippi, . . . Jolliet and Marquette are the discoverers only of the upper Mississippi and of the Illinois country." His reason for rejecting this opinion is because "the accounts given by the companions of De Soto, regarding the Mississippi, are so vague that the majority of historians attach but little importance to them." On the supposition that the existence of the great river which the Spaniards discovered was eventually forgotten, Gagnon accepts the conclusion of L'Abbé Verreau, declaring that "the Spaniards did not discover the Mississippi before Jolliet any more than the Scandinavians discovered America before Columbus, than the Bretons and Basques discovered the Gulf of St. Lawrence before Cartier." To give weight to his opinion he quotes Verreau as saying: "The rights of Jolliet are the same as those of the other two immortal voyagers [Columbus and Cartier]. Especially could they not be contested by a nation whose first care was to conceal carefully from public knowledge the slightest discoveries."[12] By

[11] Folwell, W. W., *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1921), I, 21-22.

[12] Verreau, M. L'Abbé, "Discours" in *200e Anniversaire de la Découverte du Mississipi* (Quebec, 1873), p. 28.

way of summary Gagnon sets up a definition of the term "discovery" as follows: "The voyagers that give circumstantial accounts of their explorations; that by charts at least with clear and precise indications make known to the civilized world the countries till then unknown, which they have traversed; such are real 'discoverers' whose names should be wreathed with the admiration and the respect of posterity. De Soto has a right to figure among the immortals, but not because of the fact that he happened to die in the vicinity of Akansea." [13]

In the preface [14] to his work already quoted, Shea brings a "History of the discovery of the Mississippi River." After discussing the expeditions of De Vaca, De Soto, and Coronado in their bearing on the Rio del Espíritu Santo, he writes:

> Such clear accounts of a great river, which the party of De Soto had found navigable for at least a thousand miles, would naturally have drawn attention to it; but we find no notice of any Spanish vessels entering the river to trade in furs or slaves, or simply to explore. Accidents occasionally brought some to its banks, but these visits are few and brief, and they led to no results.[15]

That a detachment of De Luna's army again reached the river in 1560 Shea concedes. He believes also that after the occupation of New Mexico the Spaniards "heard continually of the Mississippi, or Rio Grande del Espíritu Santo, and some seem actually to have reached it." Nevertheless, in view of the fact that "no steps were taken to explore it" after the days of De Soto, he concludes:

> The Mississippi was now forgotten, and although explored for at least a thousand miles, known to have at least two branches equal in size to the finest rivers of Spain, to be nearly a league wide and perfectly navigable, it is laid down on the maps as an insignificant stream, often not even distinguished by its name of Espíritu Santo, and then we are left to conjecture what petty line was intended for the great river of the west.[16]

[13] Gagnon, pp. 120-123. "These observations appear to us perfectly just," writes Chapais in his Preface to this work.

[14] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, pp. vii-xxxix.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. xviii-xix.

Although Shea does not argue the question regarding the nature of the 1673 expedition, from his statement that the great river was subsequently forgotten the reader is left to infer that the Jolliet-Marquette enterprise may be justly regarded as the discovery of the Mississippi. Fifty years after the publication of Shea's work, this inference was drawn by Rev. Henry S. Spalding, S.J., and reiterated by him on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the 1673 expedition.[17] He writes:

> De Soto reached the bank of the great river of the New World a century before Marquette launched his boat upon its waters; but this does not prove that the latter was not a discoverer. Lief and Thorfinn visited the North American continent, cut timber, built huts and attempted colonization; yet we do not call them the discoverers of America. A discoverer is not the one who simply visits a strange land, who touches an unknown coast, who crosses a stream which no human eye has seen before. He is one whose work results in something permanent, who adds something to the knowledge of the people calling him a discoverer, whether his knowledge be historical, geographical or ethnological.[18]

To substantiate this definition of "discovery" Father Spalding cites passages from Winsor and Fiske. On the strength of what Fiske says concerning the voyages of the Northmen to America and the just claim which despite these voyages Columbus has to the title of discoverer of America, he concludes:

> According to Fiske, then, two things are necessary to merit the title and honors of a discoverer. First, to find the land or country in question, and secondly, to establish permanent intercourse between the country discovered and the country which bestows the title of discoverer. The last of these conditions was not verified in regard to the Northmen, and

[17] His article entitled "Who Discovered the Mississippi?" and published in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (Chicago), VI (1923), 40-49, is a reprint from *The Queen's Work* (St. Louis), June (pp. 151-152, 164), and July (pp. 179, 192) issues of 1923. The article in the June issue, dealing with the nature of the 1673 expedition, is for the most part a reprint of what the same writer published twenty-one years before in the now defunct *Messenger* (New York, September, 1902, pp. 269-277) under the title "Marquette and De Soto— Was Marquette a Discoverer?"

[18] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI, p. 41.

> therefore neither Lief nor Thorfinn can be called the discoverer of America.[19]

This definition of "discovery" he then applies to the expedition of De Soto. While conceding that the Mississippi River "was navigated for many leagues and described accurately by chroniclers of the expedition," Father Spalding contends that "gradually it disappeared from the minds of men and was forgotten" and that consequently, "like the American continent in the time of Columbus, it needed to be discovered." To prove that the river was forgotten, he proposes "a careful study of the maps drawn by different cartographers during the century which elapsed from the death of De Soto to the birth of Marquette." A careful study of these maps, he finds, will show "more conclusively than the testimony of historians that the Mississippi was either forgotten or was considered as a small stream of no importance." What surprises him in the course of this study of maps is "to see with what accuracy the entire South American continent was depicted," whereas "the maps of Florida, and especially of the inland country, are by no means so accurate." On the strength of these two premises—the wholly arbitrary definition of "discovery" and the erroneously supposed oblivion into which the existence of the Mississippi had fallen—Father Spalding reaches the conclusion that, "if we examine De Soto's titles carefully, we find that he can claim neither of the requirements of the true discoverer."[20]

Having pointed out the standard meaning of the term "discovery" and having directed attention to the faulty use of the term in connection with the Mississippi River as also to the erroneous assumption regarding the knowledge of its existence after the Spanish enterprises, it now becomes necessary to define precisely the state of the question. When in American history we speak of a "discovery," we mean the first sight or knowledge obtained by *white men*. However fastidious this observation may appear, it is not entirely superfluous. To evade the conclusion based on an exact interpretation and strict application of the term "to discover," Father Spalding shifted the state of the question by saying

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 42.
[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

that, if the term "is to be accepted literally, then the Sioux, the Dakotahs or some other Indian tribes discovered the Mississippi and the consideration of Marquette, De Soto and others is vain." [21] This goes to show how important it is to fix the state of the question in such a way as to preclude every possibility of misconception and tergiversation. For the same reason it is necessary to determine exactly what is meant by the Mississippi River. More than a hundred years ago, in a memoir on Louisiana, Le Maire wrote: "When I say that the Missouri empties into the Mississippi, I follow the common way of speaking, for there is not more reason to believe that it is the Mississippi which received the Missouri than to say that it is the former which empties into the latter." [22] Whichever opinion may be geographically the more correct, in the present discussion the Mississippi will be regarded as the main stream and the Missouri as one of its tributaries. In other words, the river explored by Jolliet in 1673 is the same that the Spaniards discovered a century and a half earlier. Again, dismissing as quite irrelevant the question whether it was the Mississippi or the Mobile which Pineda discovered in 1519, we take it for granted that the Mississippi is the Rio del Espíritu Santo. This name was given Pineda's river on the map of 1520, presumably by Garay. Since neither De Vaca nor De Soto gave their river any specific name, geographers naturally identified it with the one discovered in 1519 and named it Rio del Espíritu Santo. Whether they were correct in so doing, that is, whether Pineda's river is identical with De Vaca's and De Soto's, is of no consequence for the question now at issue. Finally, concerning the elements comprised in the standard definition of "to discover," only one demands consideration. It is self-evident that we are dealing with an object already in existence at the time of Jolliet's expedition and not brought into existence by it. In other words, Jolliet did not "invent" the Mississippi. Then, as to priority in point of time, it is beyond dispute that the sight and knowledge which the Spaniards obtained

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

[22] Le Maire, François, *Mémoire inédit sur la Louisiane, 1717* in *Extrait des Comtes-rendus de l'Athenée Louisianais* (September and November, 1899). The memoir is dated March 7, 1717. Its author was a priest of the French Seminary of Foreign Missions.

of the river antedated not only the 1673 expedition but likewise every other expedition. Until records are found to prove that other white men reached the Mississippi before the Spaniards, the latter must be credited with having been the first to reach it. The only element, then, that need be considered in the present study is the one pertaining to the knowledge of the river's existence subsequent to its discovery by the Spaniards. Moreover, it is evident that the investigation of this matter need not extend beyond the year 1673.[23] The question is therefore: Was the existence of the Rio del Espíritu Santo forgotten in the course of time and consequently unknown in the days of Jolliet and Marquette. This purely historical question being the pivot on which the nature of the 1673 expedition turns, it will necessarily receive lengthiest consideration. For, if it can be shown that the river's existence had not been forgotten, it follows that the 1673 expedition can not be styled a discovery in the sense that the standard usage of the term "discovery" implies.

Intense excitement prevailed in New Spain when the three hundred survivors of the De Soto expedition suddenly appeared on the scene. Louis de Moscoso, their leader, proceeded to the city of Mexico and gave the viceroy Mendoza an account of the expedition. It was but natural that he should speak in greatest detail about the mighty river coming from the distant north and emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. On the bank of this stream De Soto had breathed his last; to its waters Moscoso had consigned the corpse; down its current he had sailed with the survivors for a distance of seven hundred miles until they reached its mouth on the north shore of the gulf. More than ever, in view of Moscoso's recital, the viceroy saw the importance of occupying Florida. Steps were taken in this direction despite the disheartening failure of the Coronado expedition and despite the pro-

[23] Quite pointless is the assertion of Father Spalding that "in the beginning of the last century grave historians wrote books to prove that De Soto really existed," which shows "how completely the work of the dauntless Spanish explorer had been obliterated from the memory of man" (*Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI, p. 42). The question is what was known of De Soto and his work about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the days of Jolliet, not what was known thereof "in the beginning of the last [nineteenth] century."

nounced apathy of the home government toward a military conquest of the region. First in 1558, after the failure of a purely spiritual conquest and after the appearance of the French peril on the Florida coast, did Philip II sanction the expedition which the new viceroy Luis de Velasco had recommended two years before. The enterprise was entrusted to Tristán de Luna and its purpose was, as Buckingham-Smith points out, "to conquer and colonize Florida, in anticipation of a movement of a like nature by the government of France." [24] Although the attempt at colonization again proved a failure, various explorations north and west of Pensacola Bay acquainted the Spaniards with the topography of the Mississippi region. At the same time, a detachment of soldiers, joining the friendly Coça Indians in their war with the Napochies (Natchez), actually reached and most probably also crossed the Mississippi River.[25] In 1561, the viceroy recalled De Luna and placed Angel de Villafañe in command of the enterprise, instructing him to explore the east coast of Florida with a view to colonization. The commander's report was unfavorable and on March 12, 1562, he recommended that the project of colonizing Florida be for the present relinquished. To this the king gave his approval, "convinced," says Lowery, "that there was no ground for fear that the French would take possession of it." [26] The king was mistaken, however, and three years later, in March, 1565, he sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to Florida for the purpose of expelling the French and establishing a colony.

The colonization of Florida was prompted directly by the French peril and indirectly by the knowledge that Spain had of the great river in the west, coupled with the suspicion that it might prove a solution of the northern mystery. To realize the absolute necessity of anticipating France in the occupation of the Florida peninsula, the Spanish authorities had but to consult the maps of the time.[27] As early as 1557, Pedro de Santander urged the

[24] Buckingham-Smith, note 25 to the Fontanedo MS.

[25] See Lowery, pp. 357-367. Where they reached the river, it was known as the Oquechiton, an Indian term meaning "great water." Oquechiton is doubtless the Ok'-hina-chito of the Choctaws, which signifies "water-way-great." See Buckingham-Smith, p. 66.

[26] Lowery, p. 376.

[27] For example, Cabot's (1544), Baptiste Agnese's (about 1550), Hom-

colonization of Florida, explaining what an advantage it would be for Spain, since "in that province there is a river which enters that coast,[28] which is called Espíritu Santo, and which has eight leagues of mouth and comes from more than five hundred leagues from its source."[29] The description which Santander gives of Florida shows how much he knew of the De Soto expedition, while the fact of his having written the memorial in Seville indicates how well the river was known in government circles. A similar reference to the river is found in a description of Florida drawn up in 1562 by De Villafañe and his camp master.[30] Again, in 1565, shortly after the appointment of Menéndez, a memorial was drawn up by the Council of the Indies to establish the justice of Spain's claim to Florida. This memorial also bears testimony for the fact that the Spaniards had not forgotten the expeditions of Narváez and De Soto.[31]

Meanwhile, in Mexico, two members of the Coronado expedition strongly recommended the occupation of Quivira. One of these was Jaramillo. Many years after the expedition, he wrote to the viceroy that the Spaniards under Coronado had passed through the province of Quivira and come to the confines of Harahey where they learned of "a river with more water and more inhabitants than the others" which they had previously visited. The river he referred to was undoubtedly the Missouri. After relating how two of Father Padilla's companions escaped the lot of the friar and eventually returned to Mexico by a shorter route than the one Coronado had taken, the same writer assures the viceroy:

> I have given Gonçalo Solís de Meras and Isidro de Solís an account of this, because it seemed to me important, according to what I say I have understood, that his Majesty

em's (1558), Furlani's (1560), all of which trace and, barring two, also name the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

[28] He means the gulf coast, the entire northern region being then known as Florida.

[29] *Colleción de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid, 1842-1895), vol. 26, p. 358.

[30] *Documentos y relaciones para la historia de la Florida y Louisiana*, MSS. in Library of Congress (Washington), pp. 144-145.

[31] See Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements in the United States, Florida, 1562-1574*. (New York, 1911), pp. 107-108.

> unite that land [of Quivira] to this. It is perhaps also very likely that this Indian Sebastian, during the time that he was in Quivira, learned about its territory, and the country round about it, and also of the sea, and the road by which he came.[32]

Considering the fact that Jaramillo was with Coronado on the Red River and there heard of the larger stream farther east, one is inclined to think that it was the Rio del Espíritu Santo he had in mind as an easier and shorter route to Quivira.

About the same time that he was writing this report in the city of Mexico, Castañeda, who also had been with Coronado twenty years before and who was now living in Culiacán, composed his valuable narrative of the expedition.[33] In this he speaks of "the mighty river of the Holy Spirit (Espíritu Santo), which the men with Don Hernando de Soto discovered in Florida."[34] Later on in the narrative, when describing Quivira, Castañeda writes.

> The great river of the Holy Spirit (Espíritu Santo), which Don Fernando de Soto discovered in the country of Florida, flows through this country.[35] It passes through a province called Arache,[36] according to the reliable accounts which were obtained here. . . . It flows across all the level country and breaks through the mountains of the North Sea, and comes out where the people with Don Fernando de Soto navigated it. This is more than 300 leagues from where it enters the sea.[37] On account of this and also because it has large tributaries, it is so mighty when it enters the sea that they lost sight of the land before the water ceased to be fresh.[38]

[32] Winship, pp. 589-590, 592-593.

[33] It was written about the year 1565. See *Spanish Explorers*, p. 276; 282, note 1.

[34] At this point Hodge notes that "the Espíritu Santo is the Mississippi." *Ibid.*, p. 339, note 1.

[35] He refers to the Missouri-Mississippi, according to Hodge. *Ibid.*, p. 365, note 2.

[36] Arache is "the Harahey of Jaramillo's account," says Hodge. *Ibid.*, p. 365, note 3.

[37] Castañeda's calculations are remarkably correct.

[38] *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 339, 365. It is interesting to note that both Jaramillo and Castañeda take the Missouri to be the main stream.

Only a few years later, the attention of the Spanish government was again directed to De Soto's river. In 1551 a Spanish vessel was wrecked on the coast of Florida. Among the passengers who were cast ashore was Hernando de Escalante Fontanedo, a boy thirteen years of age. Captured by the natives, he lived with them for seventeen years and learned to speak four Indian languages. After his rescue by the Spaniards, who had meanwhile established themselves in Florida, Fontanedo wrote a description of the country. In this description he tells of the Indian "king" of Toco-baja who, he says, "lives at the farthermost extremity of the river toward the interior which is more than forty leagues from the river [39] where Hernando de Soto thought of colonizing and which was not colonized on account of his death." Later on he again mentions this region, this time as Tocavaya, saying that it is the country "in which enters another great river, where De Soto was and died." The rescue of Fontanedo and his subsequent report [40] was in a large measure responsible for the keen interest which Menéndez, the founder of Spanish rule in Florida, manifested in the western regions. His plan was to occupy by colonization the entire stretch of land between the Florida peninsula and the Pánuco River. For a concession of this territory he applied to the Spanish king, who in turn referred the matter to the Audiencia of Mexico. But here Menéndez's project was frowned upon because, as the Audiencia reported, "the site he lays claim to settle is sixty leagues from Mexico, and in case the Rio del Espíritu Santo should have to be discovered [41] in order to go to the point of Santa Elena [on the east coast of Florida], it would have to be done from this New Spain." [42]

From the testimony rendered in 1582 by Pedro de Bustamente and Hernando Gallegos concerning the Rodríguez expedition into

[39] "*a cabo postrero del rio, hacia la tierra adentro.*"

[40] Pacheco y Cardenas, V, 537-538; 545. The report is undated. But from Fontanedo's statement that he was cast ashore in 1551 and spent seventeen years among the Indians it is clear that the report could not have been written before 1568.

[41] i. e. explored—a typical case where the Spanish "descubrir," like the French "découvrir," must be understood in a wider sense than the English "to discover."

[42] Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements—Florida, 1562-1574*, pp. 368-369.

New Mexico it is evident that the adventure of De Vaca had not been forgotten. Both testified that they had been induced to accompany Rodríguez and his fellow missionaries by what they had learned "in a book which he [De Vaca] wrote regarding a journey that he made coming from Florida to this New Spain."[43] Though the attempt of the friars to found a mission in New Mexico proved a failure, it roused the interest of the viceroy. Contemplating a new expedition, he sought the advice of Rodrigo del Rio, who recommended that New Mexico be colonized and the country beyond Quivira explored. This would be of great service to God and to the king, he declared, aside from the fact that it would prevent the occupation of the territory by the French and English, "which would be very injurious to all these kingdoms of the Indies." In his report, Del Rio refers to the earlier expeditions of De Vaca, Coronado, and De Soto.[44]

Thus for nearly half a century after the discovery of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, the Spaniards knew of the river's existence and largely on the basis of this knowledge persistently urged the occupation of the northern interior. Meanwhile, the great river received ample notice in historical and geographical literature. This continued, as we shall see, not only to the year 1600 but also during the ensuing seventy-five years of the seventeenth century. In view of the fact that the book market is controlled by the law of supply and demand and that consequently reprints and new editions demonstrate both the sale and the circulation of a book, it follows of necessity that the Rio del Espíritu Santo was known to exist in the days when the French set out to explore it. Now, what are the facts concerning the historical and geographical literature published during the period indicated?

The *Relación,* which Cabeza de Vaca wrote of his experiences during the Narváez expedition, was published at Zamora, Spain, in 1542. Thirteen years later a reprint appeared at Valladolid. The Elvas narrative of the De Soto expedition left the press in 1557 at Evora, Portugal.[45] To this work doubtless Herrera referred

[43] Pacheco y Cardenas, XV, 85, 89. See also Bolton, H. E., *Spanish Explorations,* p. 144.

[44] Pacheco y Cardenas, XV, 139, 144-145.

[45] Under title *Relaçam verdadeira dos trabalhos q̃ ho gouernador dõ*

a half century later when in his *Historia* he stated that King Philip II (1556-1598) "had among his effects the history of this famous voyage of Don Hernando de Soto, with paintings in fine colors, on which were pictured the conquests, the battles and the other incidents of this journey."[46] Although three centuries elapsed before Castañeda's account of the Coronado expedition appeared in print,[47] it eventually found its way to Spain and was copied at Seville in 1596.[48] By whom and for whom the copy was made is not known. Very probably some French cartographer or compiler of voyages,[49] realizing the importance of the De Soto expedition and of the Elvas narrative, engaged the services of a Spanish copyist who very significantly concludes his task with a "Laus Deo—Thank God"—and fortunately adds that he "finished copying, Saturday the 26th of October, 1596, in Seville."

About the middle of the sixteenth century, Spanish America began to figure also in geographical literature. In 1565, Benzoni published at Venice his *Historia del Mondo Nuovo,* of which the Latin edition was entitled *Novae Novi Orbis Historiae.* Before 1600, the work was translated into French, Dutch, and English; while the Italian and Latin versions saw at least five new editions before the end of the sixteenth century. Benzoni's work was the result of fourteen years (1542-1556) of travel in the New World. It recounts both the Narváez and the De Soto expeditions. The last decade of the century saw the publication of eight parts of De Bry's *Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Occidentalem,*

Fernãdo de Souto y certos fidalgos portugueses passarom no descobrimẽto da provincia da Frolida. A copy of this original edition is in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch.

[46] Abad y Lasiera, Don Inigo, *Relación de el Descubrimiento . . . de la Florida* (Madrid, 1785), p. 58, on the authority of Herrera. Lasiera's reference to Herrera must be an error. The passage in Herrera's *Historia* (tom. IV, dec. 7, lib. ii, fol. 144) could not be found.

[47] It was translated into French and published by Ternaux-Compans in his *Voyages* (Paris, 1838), IX. See *Spanish Explorers,* p. 277.

[48] This copy is now in the New York Public Library, Lenox Branch. Castañeda's original has not been found. *Ibid.,* p. 277.

[49] This may be gathered from the fact that the copy, which Ternaux-Compans used for his *Voyages,* was found in Paris, in the Uguina Collection. *Ibid.,* p. 277.

in Latin and German. Parts Four, Five and Six (published at Frankfort in 1594, 1595, and 1596) embody the *Historia* of Benzoni. While De Bry was issuing his works in Germany, Hakluyt was engaged along similar lines in England. Between 1598 and 1600, after many years of diligent and careful research, he published in London his celebrated *Principal Navigations.* The third volume of this work is devoted entirely to America. It recounts the Spanish expeditions to the great river and contains the Molineaux map by way of illustration.

From the field of geographical literature we pass to that of cartography. The first to indicate the river and name it Rio del Espíritu Santo was, as we have seen, Francisco de Garay, in 1520. During the next half century, till 1569, the river was marked notably by Cortés (1524), Ribero (1529), Cabot (1544), Homem (1558), and Zaltieri (1566). In 1569, Gerard Mercator produced his planisphere, which reappeared in his *Atlas* in 1585, 1590, 1595, and 1602. On this the Mississippi is marked as a large stream flowing southward into the Gulf of Mexico and bearing the name "r. del espiritu santo." Additional indications on the map fully justify the conclusion of Kohl that before drawing the map Mercator studied the report of the De Soto expedition.[50] On Mercator's globe-map of 1587 the river is traced but not named. His contemporary and rival in the field of geographical science was Abraham Ortelius. The *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of Ortelius was placed on the market at Antwerp in 1570 and before the death of the author, in 1598, it was edited at least fifteen times in various languages. While his globe-map leaves the Mississippi unnamed, the river is traced on his American maps as the "R. de S. Spiritu." According to Winsor, "American cartography obtained its special exponent" in Cornelius Wytfliet, whose *Descriptionis Ptolomaicae Augmentum* the same authority designates as "the earliest distinctively American Atlas."[51] Wytfliet gave the *Augmentum* to the world in 1597 and on the map, entitled "Florida et Apalche," the Mississippi is depicted as an immense river named "R. de S. Spirito." His globe-map has no name for the river.

[50] Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 66.

[51] Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, II, 457, 472; IV, 369.

Largely on the authority of Mercator and Ortelius, other geographers and compilers of voyages gave notice to the Mississippi on their maps, always representing it as flowing south and emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, though not always inscribing its Spanish name. Of these so-called secondary maps we cite the following with their year of publication: Porcacchi (1572), Thevet (1575), Martines (1578), Lok (1582), Hakluyt (1587), Judaeis or Jode (1589 and 1593), Plancius (1594), Muenster (1595), De Bry (1596), Porro (1598), Quadus or Quaden (1600).

From the evidence so far advanced it is clear that in 1600 Europe still had knowledge of the Mississippi River. Nor was this knowledge lost during the ensuing seven decades. To convince oneself of this, one need but examine the historical and geopraphical literature that saw the light between 1600 and 1677. By 1615, the greater part of Herrera's *Historia General* was in circulation. After his Decade IV, published in 1601, appeared his *Descripción de las Indias Occidentales,* together with a map on which theMississippi is indicated but not named. While Herrera's work was printed at Madrid, Garcilaso de la Vega published at Lisbon, in 1605, his *La Florida del Inca,* in which the De Soto expedition was most minutely recounted. A French translation of the work, done by Baudouin, was published at Paris in 1633. In 1609, Hakluyt issued in London an English translation of the Elvas narrative of the De Soto expedition. It was entitled *Virginia Richly Valued, by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, Her Next Neighbor.* An account of Hudson's voyage, by Gerritsz, appeared at Amsterdam in 1613. This work, usually quoted as *Detectio Freti Hudsoni,* contained a map which traced but left unnamed two large rivers flowing south and emptying into the Gulf of Mexico.

The seventeenth century may be justly styled the century of geographical science and travel literature. Geographers and collectors of voyages usually designed their own maps. For this reason these go by the name of their author, though they are largely based on the works of earlier cartographers. De Bry and Hakluyt continued to hold the field till well into the seventeenth century. De Bry's collection of *American Voyages* was completed in 1634, while a German translation of the first ten parts came out

between 1593 and 1620. After the death of Hakluyt, his work was continued by Samuel Purchas who in 1625 completed the five volumes of what is known as *Purchas, His Pilgrimes.* Of this work, the fourth volume is devoted exclusively to America, while the fifth is a new edition of his *Pilgrimage.* On his map Purchas does not trace the Mississippi River, but where the river would empty he marks a bay and names it "R. del Spirito Santo." In 1606, Hondius edited the so-called *Hondius-Mercator Atlas.* A fourth edition of it appeared in 1613 and thereafter many more, as also translations in French, German, Dutch, and English. In 1607, the same compiler of voyages brought out a new edition of Gerard Mercator's *Atlas Minor,* containing a map on which the river is traced but left unnamed. Another important map and very detailed account of the discovery of the Mississippi is found in the French work of De Laet, *L'Histoire du Noveau Monde,* first published in 1625. In the fourth book, devoted entirely to Florida, the Narváez expedition is recounted on the authority of De Vaca's *Relación.* Five chapters tell the story of the De Soto expedition, in the course of which De Laet writes that "they arrived at Chisca near a great river which for this reason they called Grande." In 1635, Blaeu published his *Atlas Major.* The eleventh volume of the 1663 edition has an extensive treatment of America, comprising twenty-three maps to illustrate two hundred and ninety pages of text. The maps and the text pertaining to Florida and the Gulf of Mexico are quite accurate and detailed. Twenty years later, in 1655, under the pseudonym of Abelin, Johann Gottfriedt published his *Newe Welt und Amerikanische Historien,* finished only after many years of diligent research. In this work De Soto's expedition is treated, while on the map, entitled "America noviter delineata," the river is extended to the 40th degree and named "R. d. Sp. Sancto." In 1656 and again in 1657 appeared Sanson's *Description de tout l'Univers.* It was published at Paris and to America is devoted a special section under the title *L'Amérique en plusiers cartes, et en divers traites de Géographie et d'Histoire.* In this section Sanson brings a map on which the Mississippi is marked as "R. de Spiritu Santo." Other markings on the map show that Sanson used the accounts of the De Soto

expedition. Four years later, in 1660, Avity's *Description générale de l'Amérique* left the press at Paris. The map which it embodies shows the Mississippi as a large river and names it "R. du S. Esprit." Heylyn's *Cosmographie* was published in 1652 and 1655. The fourth book of Part Two has an elaborate map entitled "Americae Nova Descriptio," on which the Mississippi is traced as "R. del Spiritu Santo," extending northward to the fortieth degree latitude. In his text Heylyn offers a brief account of the various Spanish expeditions connected with the great river. In 1670, at Amsterdam, appeared the Dutch work of Arnoldus Montanus, entitled *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weerelt.* A second edition came out the next year and in 1673 it was translated into German by Dapper under the title *Die Unbekante Neve Welt.* Both the original and the translation have a map on which the Mississippi is distinctly depicted and named "R. del Spiritu S.," while in the text is found a rather detailed account of the De Soto expedition. A noteworthy feature of the Montanus map is the fact that it traces quite correctly, though leaving unnamed, the three eastern tributaries of the Mississippi, namely, the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Wisconsin. Ogilby, royal cosmographer at the English court, produced his *America* in London in 1671. It is for the most part a reproduction of Montanus. From the frontispiece map and from the bibliography it is evident that Ogilby was exceedingly well informed on the Spanish expeditions to the Mississippi River. The *Description générale des Côtes de l'Amérique,* written by Dassie, was published in Rouen in 1677. Very significant is the distinction that the author makes between "la baye du S. Esprit" and the "riviere du S. Esprit," placing the latter considerably west of the bay. After sketching the De Soto expedition, Dassie says that "the province of Muscoso is below the 31st degree of latitude along the banks of the S. Esprit."

It may be objected that, although the Rio del Espíritu Santo was always known to exist, this knowledge was indefinite and uncertain; that the accounts of its discovery were usually brief and sometimes inexact as to detail; that cartographers were anything but precise and uniform in delineating the river, now omitting the name, then marking only a bay, and then placing it too far

east or too far west. However well founded these objections may be, they are quite beside the point at issue. The question is not how perfectly the river was known, but whether it was known at all.[52] To deduce non-existence of knowledge from the imperfection of it is bad logic.

Strictly speaking, it is foreign to the scope of the present study to point out the reasons why knowledge regarding the Rio del Espíritu Santo was imperfect. Yet a brief reference to them seems in place. Accuracy and uniformity of presentation in matters of geography is not the result of discovery, but of exploration. Exact information regarding an object is acquired not by the first sight or knowledge obtained of it, but by a systematic enquiry conducted after its existence has become known. For a century and a half Spain purposely left the great river unexplored. Even before the defeat and destruction of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, when Spain was at the zenith of her maritime power, the administration of her vast colonial empire in the New World was a stupendous task. Nor had the northern continent any particular attraction, except as a barrier protecting Mexico and the West Indies. The 1588 disaster did not mean the loss of this colonial empire. What it effected, however, was a radical change in Spain's New World policy. With her navy crippled and with England supreme at sea, Spain was forced to assume the defensive, attending more to the inner development of the territories already occupied and shielding them against foreign invasion. Consequently, to quote Professor Dunn, "as long as there was no pressing need for the occupation of new territories, the exhausted Spanish monarchy was content to allow the deserted

[52] In the article published in 1902 (see *ante*, note 17), Father Spalding adduced three maps, viz., the Mercator of 1569, the Hakluyt of 1587, and the Wytfliet of 1597. If their purpose was to show that the Mississippi had been forgotten, they failed to answer the purpose. Moreover, the observations below the maps evade the real issue, merely signifying that the river had never been explored. Finally, Father Spalding overlooked the 1597 Wytfliet map of "Florida-Apalche" in Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, II, 281) as also the following seventeenth century maps: Hondius-Mercator (1607), Jannson (1621), De Laet (1625), Heylyn (1652), Gottfriedt (1655), Sanson (1656), and Montanus (1670).

region that lay between New Mexico and Florida to remain in a state of nature." [53]

Moreover, it is important to note that, especially after 1588, with the English and Dutch established on the Atlantic seaboard and the French in control of the St. Lawrence River, the exploration of the Rio del Espíritu Santo would have been anything but advantageous to Spain. Her early suspicions that the river offered a passage to the South Sea might after all be correct. If so, the occupation of its banks many miles north of its mouth would be indispensable. Unprepared for this project and unwilling to come in conflict with her northern rivals, Spain wisely disregarded the recommendation that was repeatedly made in New Mexico to have the lands lying to the east explored and settled. No longer desirous of finding a waterway across the continent to the South Sea but at the same time anxious for the safety of her possessions along the Gulf of Mexico into which the Rio del Espíritu Santo was known to empty, Spain clung tenaciously to the Florida peninsula and meanwhile took care that the attention of her rivals be not directed to the great river. If secrecy was a necessary element of Spanish colonial policy in the middle of the sixteenth century,[54] it was certainly such after 1588.[55] Again, if secrecy was necessary regarding Spain's New World discoveries in general, it was all the more so regarding the great river that might prove a solution of the northern mystery.

This policy of secrecy respecting the Rio del Espíritu Santo was largely a failure for the simple reason that it was adopted after the narratives of De Vaca's and De Soto's expeditions and

[53] Dunn, p. 12.

[54] See *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1774), lib. ix, especially tit. xxiii, ley v, viii, xiiii; also tit. xxv, ley xii.

[55] Speaking in the House of Commons on June 17, 1607, Sir Francis Bacon pointed out the effects of this secrecy, saying that "such a vigilant dragon is there that keepeth this golden fleece." Stock, Leo Francis, *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* (Washington, 1924), I, 17. Kohl finds the Céspedes map of 1606 "interesting by the circumstance that it is a Spanish one." See his Collection of Maps in Library of Congress, (Washington), No. 89. The Céspedes map has no river where the Rio del Espíritu Santo would be, but only a bay and that is unnamed.

the maps of the Cabot type had been circulated. These were eventually consulted by men like Mercator, Ortelius, and Hakluyt, who constructed their maps accordingly and in this way preserved the knowledge of the river's existence despite the efforts of Spain to keep it a secret. The only result of Spain's policy so far as cartographers were concerned was lack of information necessary to make their delineations of the Rio del Espíritu Santo accurate and uniform.

In a previous chapter we have seen what knowledge the French in Canada gradually obtained of the "Great Water" in the west. To quote Father Spalding:

> They [the Jesuits] had already penetrated far into the solitudes of the western world. Three years before Joliet's appointment Marquette had reached the western shore of Lake Superior; Father Allouez had stood upon the banks of the tributaries of the great river; Father Dablon had written so accurate an account of the Mississippi that it reads today like a description of one who had navigated the river from its source to its mouth. As superior of the Ottawa missions and in constant communication with his subjects, he transmitted to Quebec from his station at Mackinac not only the information gathered by personal experience but also that obtained from other missionaries. He knew the Indian name of the stream and the direction in which it flowed; he knew its width; he knew of the treeless plains stretching to the east and west and supplanted by the tropical forests of the distant south; he knew that the Mississippi poured its waters into the Gulf of Mexico or the Gulf of California.[56]

Besides having definite knowledge that the Mississippi River existed, there is in addition strong reason for believing that the French visited its banks before the 1673 expedition. Sulte proved quite conclusively that "the discovery of the Mississippi in 1659 [by Chouart and Radisson] is real and antedates all the others that are spoken about of La Salle in 1669 or of Jolliet and Marquette in 1673."[57] Regarding Perrot, Kellogg writes that he

[56] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI, 47-48.

[57] Sulte, Benjamin, "Découverte du Mississippi en 1659" in Societé Royale du Canada, *Proc. and Trans.*, 2 ser., IX (1903), 41. See also Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 223; Burpee, L. J., *The Search for the Western Sea* (Toronto, 1908), pp. 193-194.

"probably saw the Mississippi before La Salle had done so; whether he had made it known before the voyage of Jolliet and Marquette in 1673 is questionable."[58] The Jesuit missionary to whom the French in Canada were chiefly indebted for what they knew of the Mississippi in 1673 was Father Allouez. The details he furnished of the Green Bay region inclined Harrisse to the opinion that he described the Mississippi River from personal observation.[59] According to the Recit, when Jolliet and Marquette were at the Mascouten village, they "knew that, at three leagues from Maskoutens, was a river which discharges into Missisipi. We knew also that the direction we were to follow in order to reach it was west-southwesterly."[60]

That the missionaries and civil authorities in Canada were cognizant also of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is almost self-evident, considering the knowledge that Europe had of it at the time. The missionaries were men versed not only in sacred theology but also in the profane sciences. Of these latter, geography and cartography were greatly fostered in the seventeenth century. The majority of the Jesuit missionaries were active in their colleges in France before coming to Canada. One wonders whether it was not precisely Father Marquette's training in history and geography that made him so deeply interested in the problem of the west. This is quite certain of La Salle, who was educated by the Jesuits and was a member of their Order for nine years (1658-1667), three of which were devoted to teaching.[61] Jolliet, too, was educated by the Jesuits. In 1667, after leaving the seminary at Quebec, he went to France and spent a year there studying hydrography and kindred subjects.[62] This necessarily led him into a study of travel literature and maps, especially of whatever

[58] Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 74.

[59] Harrisse, *Notes*, p. 135.

[60] Recit MS., p. 10; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 105.

[61] See Rochemonteix, III, 42-48. La Salle entered the novitiate on October 5, 1658, made his profession on October 10, 1660, and left the Society on March 28, 1667. He taught in the classical grammar department at Alençon (5th class) 1662-1663, at Tours (4th class) 1664-1665, and at Blois (3rd class) 1665-1666. The Jesuit records say that he showed exceptional talent for the natural sciences and mathematics.

[62] Verreau, L'Abbé, "Discours," p. 18. See also Gagnon, p. 41.

pertained to the continent of North America, where he was to serve in the interests of France. The very year in which Jolliet left for France, a Dutch Jesuit, Cornelius Hazart, published at Antwerp his *Kerchlycke Historie van de gheheele Verelt,* in which work the De Soto expedition is distinctly referred to, though wrongly dated 1534.[63] Geographical literature and copies of standard maps found their way to New France. We know, for instance, that in 1669, on their expedition to the west, the Sulpicians and La Salle had a copy of Sanson's map of 1656.[64] On this map various rivers are represented as emptying into what is named "Bahia del Espiritu Santo." Again, Father Hennepin tells us that during the three years which he spent at Fort Frontenac (1676-1679), he and La Salle read the voyages of Ponce de León, Narváez, Columbus, De Soto, and others "the better to fit and prepare ourselves for the great discovery we intended to make." [65]

It may be asked whether the French in Canada ever identified the "Great Water" in the west with the Rio del Espíritu Santo. The author of the *Relation* of 1662, speaking of the Indians in the southwest, writes:

> Their villages are situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great lake (for so they call the sea), where they trade with Europeans who pray as we do, and use rosaries, as well as bells for calling to prayers. According to the description given us, we judge them to be Spaniards. That sea is doubtless either the Bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida; or else the Vermillion Sea, on the coast of New Granada, in the great South Sea.[66]

Since reference is here to a river as possibly emptying into the "Bay of St. Esprit" (Bahia del Espíritu Santo), the writer of the *Relation* apparently took the river emptying into that bay to be the same as the one on which those Indians had their villages.

[63] Probably a typographical error for 1543.

[64] Kellogg, *Early Narratives,* p. 204.

[65] Thwaites, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America by Father Louis Hennepin* (Chicago, 1903), I, 383-384.

[66] *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 47, pp. 145-147.

Positive evidence that the two rivers were identified as one and the same is furnished us by Father Dablon. After interviewing Jolliet, he wrote on August 1, 1674, that "very probably the river which the geographers trace and call St. Esprit [Spíritu Santo] is Mississipi, on which our Frenchmen have navigated." [67] Father Dablon was not sure whether the two rivers were identical. About which he had no doubt, however, was the existence of a river that emptied into the Gulf of Mexico and went by the name of St. Esprit or Spíritu Santo. And the source of his knowledge were the works of geographers who traced the river and gave it that name. But even assuming, for the sake of argument, that the French in Canada had not the slightest knowledge of De Soto's river and that before 1673 no one ever thought of identifying it with the Mississippi; their acquaintance with the latter stream, with its name, locality, width, and direction, was such as to manifest at once the inconsistency of saying that it was discovered by Jolliet and Marquette.

It is also by defining accurately the purpose of the 1673 expedition that we arrive necessarily at a true conception of its nature. Because writers failed to set forth in precise terms what Frontenac and Talon really intended when they commissioned Jolliet, the enterprise entrusted to him came to be regarded as a discovery of the Mississippi, whereas it was precisely the Mississippi by means of which it was hoped he would realize the government's project. On June 4, 1672, Colbert approved Talon's plan to seek a passage by water to the South Sea. He wrote that "after the increase of the colony of Canada, there is nothing of greater importance for that country and for the service of his Majesty than the discovery of a passage to the South Sea;" wherefore "his Majesty wishes that you assure a good recompense to those who will achieve this discovery." [68] What the energetic intendant had strong reason to believe would be such a passage was unquestionably the Mississippi, in the occupation of which he was no less interested than the Jesuits. Under date of November 2, 1672, on the eve of Talon's departure for France, Governor

[67] Relation MS., p. 9; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 103.
[68] Clement, III², 540.

Frontenac informed Colbert that "M. Talon also judged it expedient for the service of the king to send the sieur Jolliet for the discovery of the South Sea, by the country of the Mascoutens and the great river which they call Mississippi and which is believed to empty into the Sea of California."[69] Again in the *Relation* of August 1, 1674, Father Dablon wrote that Frontenac and Talon decided "to undertake the discovery of the South Sea . . . and, above all, to ascertain into what sea falls the great river, about which the savages relate so much" and about which, he might have added, such definite and abundant information has already been obtained.[70] It was a passage to the South Sea, then, that Talon was aiming to secure for the commercial benefit of the French government.

Charlevoix stated the purpose of the 1673 expedition very precisely seventy years later when he wrote:

> It was known in general, from the report of the savages, that in the west of New France there was a great river, called Meschasipi by some and Mississipi by others, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east; thus it was not doubted that by its means communication could be had either with the Gulf of Mexico, if it had its course to the south; or with the South Sea, if it went to discharge to the west; and it was hoped to derive a great advantage from the one or the other navigation.[71]

What Talon had in mind was expressed very aptly by Brasseur de Bourbourg, in 1852. According to him, the intendant wished to make sure "that the French, by descending the great river in the west, could carry the standard of France on the Pacific Ocean or plant it beside that of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico."[72] In the same year, Shea made an equally clear statement. Commenting on the avowal in the Recit that "we had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery,"

[69] Margry, I, 255.

[70] Relation MS., p. 1; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 93.

[71] Charlevoix, P. Fr. X. de, S. J., *Histoire et Description Général de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1744), I, 445.

[72] Brasseur de Bourbourg, M. L'Abbé C. E. *Histoire du Canada: de son église et de ses missions* (Paris, 1852), I, 151.

Shea declares that "the great object was to discover where the river emptied." [73]

With the purpose of the 1673 expedition so clearly defined and correctly understood, it is a puzzle how English writers, including Shea, could nevertheless style it a "discovery" of the Mississippi. Either they left the true purpose out of account or they took the term "to discover" in its obsolete sense of "to explore." Assuredly, the problem that Talon and the Jesuits were interested in was not to discover the great river in the sense of obtaining first knowledge of its existence. To say that one sets out for the express purpose of obtaining first knowledge of the existence of a thing which one does not know exists is paralogical. The existing object cannot possibly enter into the purpose of one's setting out, if one is unaware of its existence. As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, a person that acquires further information regarding an object known to exist may be said to have discovered what he was seeking; but it is a paralogism to say that in so doing he discovered the object itself. What Jolliet was expected to discover (if that is the correct term here) was whether the Mississippi River emptied into the Gulf of California and offered a passage by water to the South Sea. This and not "to discover the Mississippi River" was what Thwaites designates as "the principal American geographical puzzle of the day." [74]

The nature of the 1673 expedition becomes manifest also by considering the manner in which Jolliet and Marquette conducted themselves when they came in sight of the great river. Inherent in a geographical discovery is the element of chance and therefore of surprise on the part of the discoverers. Now, on reaching the river, Jolliet and Marquette were not more surprised than De Soto was a century and a half earlier; and that for the same reason: like De Soto, they were fully aware of the river's existence. As the Spaniard was solely interested in getting on the other side of the river and continuing his quest, so Jolliet and his companions thought only of paddling down the mighty stream and finding out where it emptied. The same problem that in part actuated the

[73] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 50, note 12.
[74] Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, Preface, p. viii.

De Soto expedition, prompted also that of Jolliet—the problem of the northern mystery. If De Soto knew from De Vaca's report that the river existed—and it is practically certain that he did—then it follows logically that he is not to be called its discoverer.[75] In like manner, if Jolliet and Marquette knew of the Mississippi's existence—and there is absolute certainty that they did—then it is an offense against English idiom and against sound logic to say that they discovered it. In short, the 1673 expedition was essentially an exploration of the Mississippi River, resulting in the discovery of the fact that it was identical with the Rio del Espíritu Santo and therefore emptied not into the Gulf of California, but into the Gulf of Mexico. Hence, when Father Spalding asks, "Should not the sculptor have carved the word 'explorer' on the pedestal of the statue in the Capitol?" the answer is: yes; that term was employed in the inscription on the mahogany cross that formerly stood on Robey Street in the city of Chicago, on the banks of the Chicago River.[76]

Before concluding this chapter on the nature of the 1673 expedition, it might be in place to explain briefly how in the middle eighteenth century Jolliet's enterprise was regarded as a discovery and in what sense this conception of it was then justified. Between 1682 and 1713, Franco-Spanish rivalry in North America centered more specifically on the region of the Mississippi basin.

[75] It was on the strength of this well-founded fact and of the exact meaning of "discovery" that the present writer concluded "that the distinction of having discovered the Mississippi belongs to De Vaca and not to De Soto." (See *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI, pp. 56-58.) Doubtless on these same grounds eminent historians either inclined to this opinion or accepted it as a settled fact. Among the former were found Buckingham-Smith, Prince, Davis, and Lowery; while among the latter the works of Hodge, Ogg, and Bolton-Marshall were cited. Father Spalding thinks otherwise, however. "On such frail evidence as is presented by Lowery and others," he is "unwilling to grant Vaca any claim whatever as a discoverer." Nor can he "see how anyone who reads the original [of De Vaca's account] carefully can accord to Vaca the honors of the discoverer of the Mississippi." (See *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, IX, 114.) It must be added that the present writer took Pineda's river to have been the Mobile, a theory that is sponsored and quite well established by Scaife in his *America: Its Geographical History*, "Supplement," pp. 139-176.

[76] *Ill. Cath. Hist. Rev.*, VI, p. 41.

Since this conflict was stirred up by the La Salle expeditions, it was naturally these that France emphasized as establishing her claim to the unoccupied territories.[77] By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, that brought the War of the Spanish Succession to a close, Louis XIV saw a Bourbon ascending the throne of Spain. For the New World this meant in large measure the realization of his scheme of a vast colonial empire under French dominion, to be controlled commercially by the twofold line approach: New France and the Carribean possessions. This much of the scheme having been realized, the time had now come for France to stem the westward expansion of the English colonies by occupying the Ohio valley. Against the pretensions of England, based on her early colonial charters, the French claimed not only the Mississippi River and the valley through which it flowed but also its eastern tributaries with their adjacent lands, in short everything west of the Alleghanies. The Franco-English conflict over these rival claims was settled at the treaty of Paris, in 1763, after the Seven Years' War.

Mainly during this struggle, the American phase of which is known as the French and Indian War (1754-1763), France pointed to the Jolliet-Marquette expedition as establishing her claims in the west by right of discovery. Whatever opinion one may adopt as to the justice of this claim, it is essential to remember in what sense the French then spoke of Jolliet and Marquette as the discoverers of the Mississippi River. Their expedition was put forth merely in contravention to a similar enterprise upon which the English might base a counterclaim. The Spanish expeditions of the early sixteenth century were not taken into account. The reason is plain. France's controversy over territorial rights and her struggle to assert them was not with Spain but with England. In the middle of the eighteenth century, France never stressed and therefore never questioned the earlier Spanish expeditions. Aside from the fact that the historical evidence in favor of the Spaniards was too strong to be refuted, there was no need for

[77] See e. g. *Mémoire pour rendre Compte au Roi de la découverte du Fleuve Mississipi—1699.* MS., Archives Nationales (Paris), *Colonies,* C 13, 2; 4-13; also letter of Louis XIV to Antoine Crozat, 1712. MS., Talamantes Papers, Library of Congress (Washington).

France to consider it now that the Mississippi basin was largely under her dominion.[78] Her case was different with England, however, who laid claim to the upper reaches of the river and valley. Here the 1673 expedition necessarily came into consideration as establishing the French claim by right of discovery. Relatively speaking, that is, as far as concerned the French in their dispute with the English, the expedition may be called a discovery. It was apparently this distinction that Shea had in mind when he referred to Marquette "as the first great explorer of the Mississippi, and to a certain extent as its discoverer."[79] Against such a statement no historian can reasonably take exception, for there is no evidence that the English reached the Mississippi before 1673. Where the historian does not modify his statement, however, he must be understood as considering the question absolutely, that is, as including the expeditions of Pineda, De Vaca, and De Soto. But in that sense, as has been shown, the French expedition of 1673 can not be called a discovery of the Mississippi River. The distinction of having been the first white men to obtain sight and knowledge of the river belongs to the Spaniards.

The discussion over the nature of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition will probably be declared by some an idle war of words and as such be ruled out of court. Be that as it may, the office of the historian is to be historically correct in his conception and presentation of past events. But by styling the 1673 expedition a discovery of the Mississippi he certainly conveys the impression that Jolliet and Marquette were the first white men to see the great river which was known in their day and is known at present as the Mississippi. Now, such an impression is historically false; wherefore the matter demanded consideration in the present study. To sum up: Aside from being a violation of the English idiom and the rules of sound logic, the designation of the 1673 expedition as the discovery of the Mississippi River is unfair to the Spaniards. That they were the first white men to obtain sight

[78] It is very significant that the map of Louisiana by De l'Isle, who was royal geographer of France in 1718, traces the route of De Soto's expedition as well as of La Salle's.

[79] Shea, Wisconsin State Historical Society, *Rept. and Proc.*, 1856, (Madison, 1857), pp. 103-104.

and knowledge of the river is not an open question but an historical fact, and it will remain such as long as no incontestable evidence is adduced that other white men anticipated them. Again, by saying the river was discovered in 1673 we ignore the undeniable fact that ever after the Spanish enterprises the existence of the great river was known in Europe generally and, on the eve of the 1673 expedition, in New France particularly. Furthermore, to say that Jolliet discovered the Mississippi River is to obscure, if not misrepresent, the purpose that the French government had in mind when it entrusted the expedition to him. Knowing of the river, France hoped it would prove an all-water route to the Pacific; in other words, a solution of the northern mystery. Anyone, therefore, who regards the standard usage of the English term "to discover," who carefully applies the rules of logic, who attentively listens to the testimony of history and applies it to the question at issue, will conclude that the Spaniards must be credited with having discovered the Mississippi and that Jolliet and his companions have the honor of being the first to explore our country's mighty waterway.

16. Quadus, 1600

See pp. 210, 213 [52].

17. Hondius-Mercator, 1607

See pp. 211, 213 [52].

18. Hondius, 1613

See p. 211.

19. Gerritsz, 1613

See p. 210.

20. Jannson, 1621

See p. 213 [52].

21. De Laet, 1625, 1630, 1633, 1640

See pp 211, 213 [52].

22. Champlain, 1632

See p. 107.

23. Blaeu, 1635, 1663

See p. 211.

24. Heylyn, 1652, 1655

See pp. 212, 213 [52].

25. Gottfriedt, 1655

See pp. 211, 213 [52].

26. Sanson, 1656, 1657

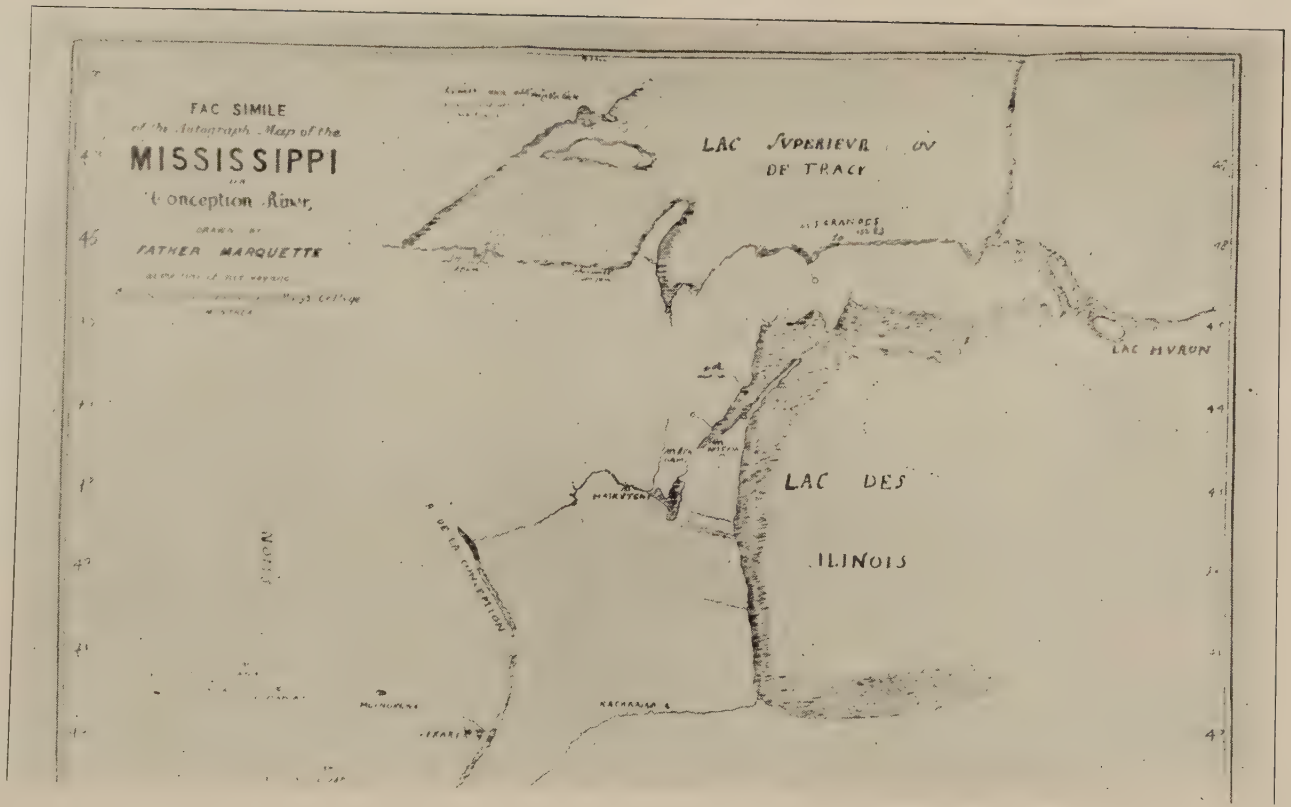
See pp. 211, 213 [52], 217.

27. Montanus, 1670, 1673

See pp. 212, 213 [52].

28. Ogilby, 1671

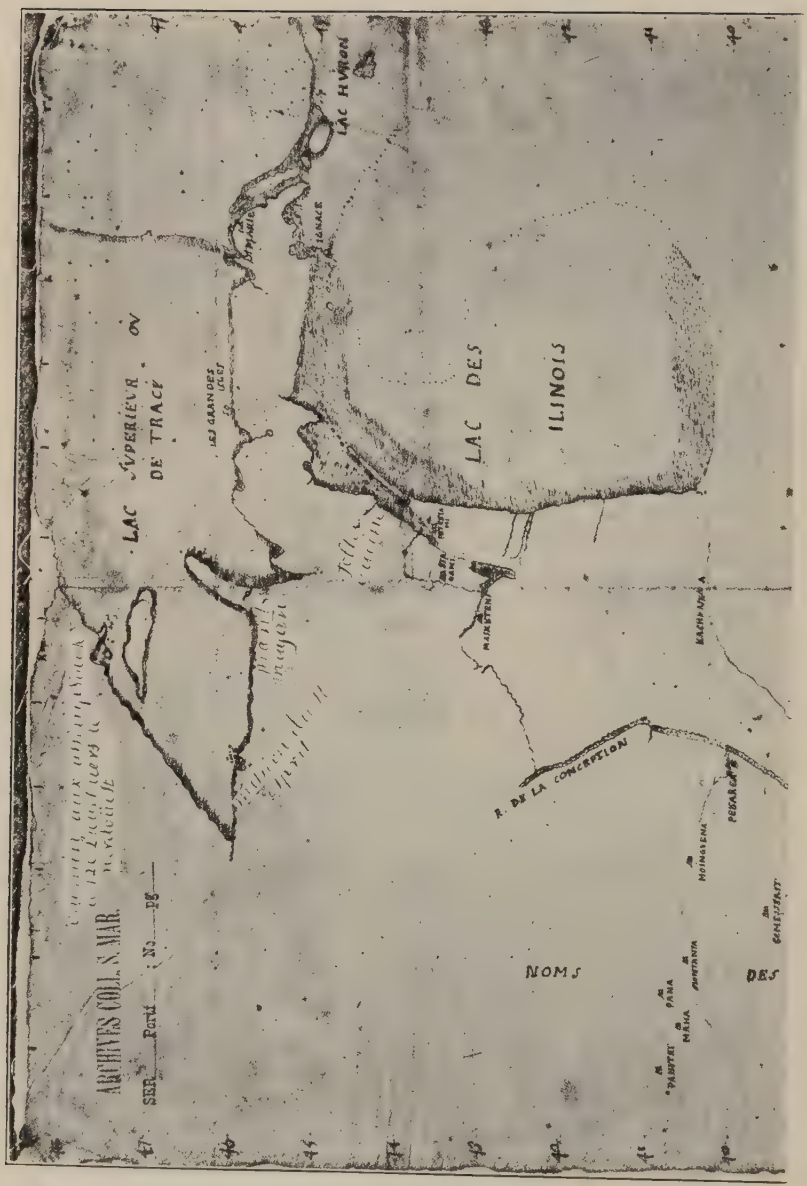
See p. 212.



29. Jolliet-Marquette, 1672-1673

See pp. 86 [93], 149 [22], 159 [59], 171 [92], 297.

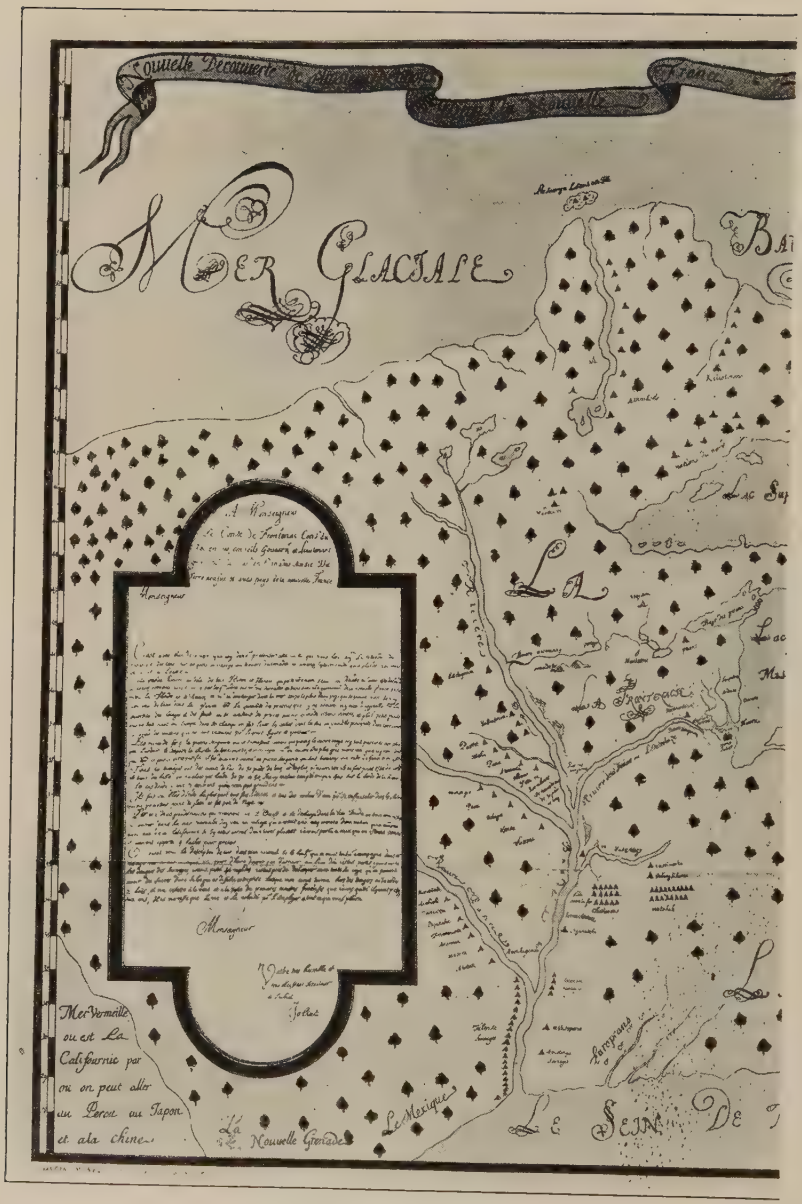
29. (lower half)



30. Jolliet-Marquette, 1672-1673

See p. 149 [22].

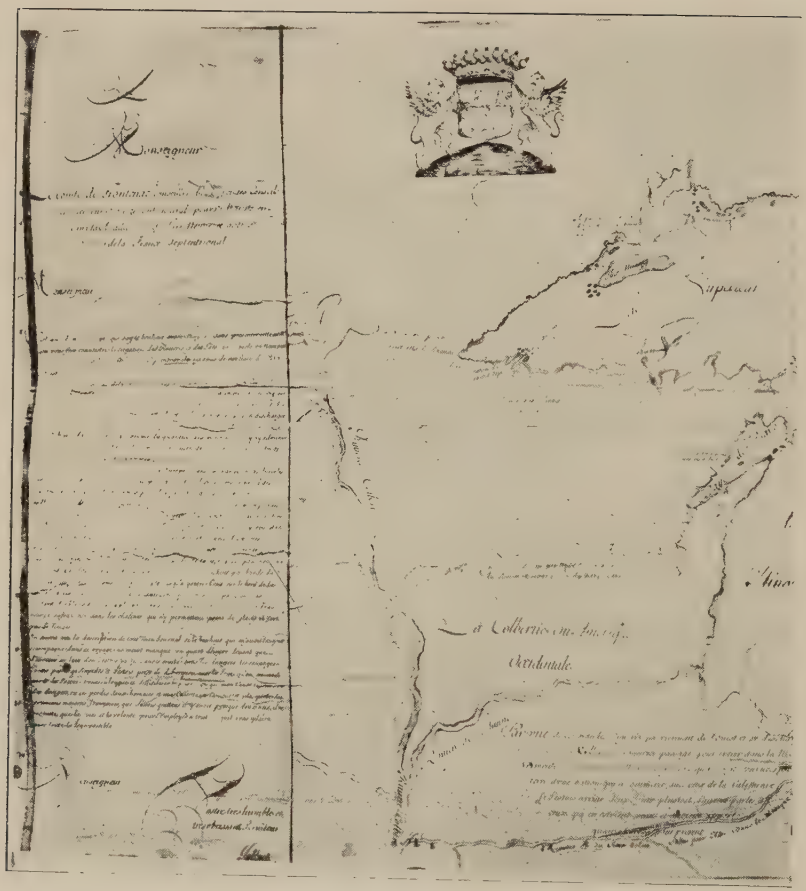
30. (lower half)



31. Jolliet (Buade), 1674

See pp. 153 [35, 37], 159 [59], 170-173, 181 [131], 186, 303.

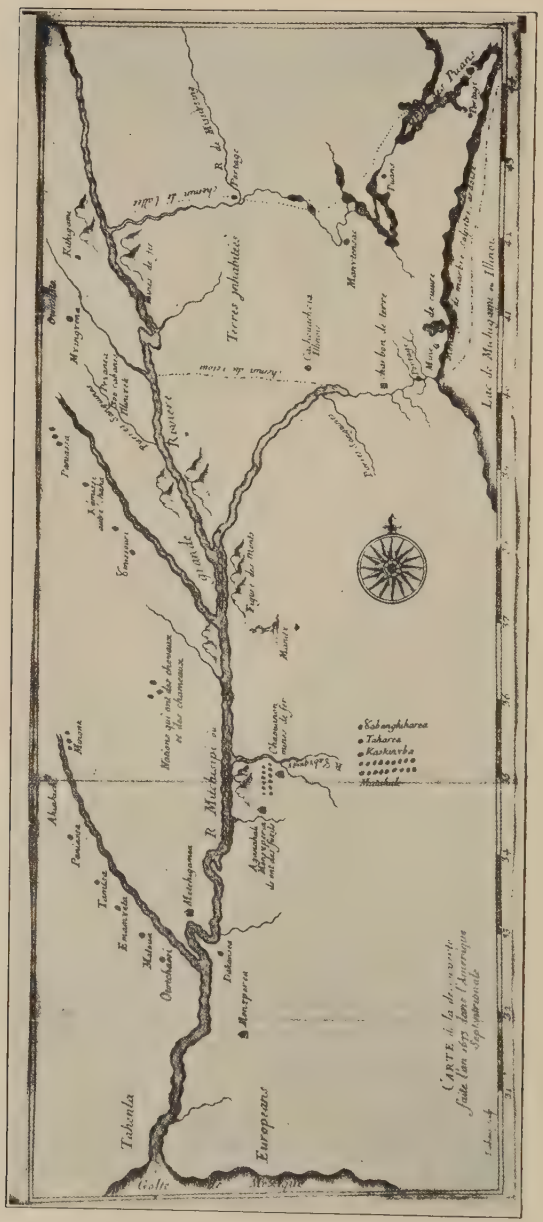
31. (right half)



32. Jolliet (Colbert), 1674

See pp. 170 [91], 171 [94], 173 [98], 183, 187, 229, 303.

32. (right half)



33. Thevenot, 1681

See p. 149 [22].

CHAPTER V

The Leader of the Expedition

Another topic that necessarily invites discussion in the present study is the relative position occupied by Jolliet and Marquette in the 1673 expedition. While some writers designate Jolliet as leader of the enterprise, others either implicitly or explicitly accord this distinction to Marquette. Rivalry in the west, as will be noted in the course of the discussion, not only made the missionary share in a purely secular undertaking, but was at a later date indirectly responsible for his rôle assuming a pre-eminence that in the light of historical facts and on the strength of sound reason belonged exclusively to the layman. Instead of Marquette having been forgotten, as is sometimes asserted, it was Jolliet, the real leader of the expedition, whose position in it was not only misrepresented but practically obliterated. And yet, the more one studies the history of the expedition with all its attending circumstances, the more one realizes the justice of the layman's claim to the title of leader and the utter insufficiency of the arguments advanced in defense of the missionary.

In such an enterprise as the first exploration of the Mississippi River, leadership involved appointment, management, and responsibility. He was necessarily and exclusively its leader who by official assignment was placed in charge of the undertaking, who was entrusted with the choice and direction of details best suited to accomplishing it, who was held responsible for the end to be attained and for the report to be made. Though confusing and obscuring the purpose of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition, Father Spalding defines the notion of leader very correctly when he declares:

> In 1672 Jolliet was deputed by Frontenac to explore the vast regions of the west and to search for a large river[1] of

[1] As demonstrated in the foregoing chapter, the purpose of the 1673 expedition was not "to search for a large river," but in the words of Frontenac, to accomplish "the discovery of the South Sea . . . by means

> which wonderful accounts had reached Quebec. He went as a government official, a topographer, a surveyor. He was prepared by education and experience to fulfill the important trust committed to him. If he discovered the river, he was to report what use could be made of it.[2] Could forts be erected along its banks to act as a barrier to further extension of the English colonies? Could the Indians be gained over so that the French would enjoy the exclusive trade in their rich pelts? Such was his mission; such was the information he was deputed to collect.[3]

As will be seen, the three circumstances essentially embodied in the idea of leader are verified in the position which Jolliet occupied in the expedition, while none of them applies to the part played by Marquette. The latter had no official appointment, the details of the expedition were not under his direction, no responsibility rested on his shoulders, nor was he expected to report on the success of the enterprise. Jolliet alone was placed in charge; wherefore he alone has a right to be called the leader.

The 1673 expedition was primarily a project undertaken by the secular government. What set it in motion was the material advantage that the civil authorities hoped to derive from the discovery and occupation of a water route to the South Sea. Uppermost in the mind of Talon and Frontenac were mercantile interests: the extension of French commerce by a shorter and cheaper route to the Pacific and the consequent increase of trade with the Far East. No government, however, was in the habit of committing even the initial steps to such a project to a priest.[4] Indeed, France was a Catholic country and for that reason interested not only in the founding of colonies but likewise, as a means to this, in the establishing of missions among the Indians. Regarding the 1673

of the great river." The more remote purposes indicated by Father Spalding—repression of the English and trade with the Indians—are nowhere stated explicitly. They may be justly inferred, however, from Jolliet's subsequent reports.

[2] That is, if he obtained certainty as to where the river disembogued.

[3] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, VI, p. 47.

[4] In the case of the Franciscan Marcos de Niza his appointment by the viceroy to lead an expedition into New Mexico, in 1539, was due to circumstances, the main one of which did not obtain in New France. See Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 108.

expedition, however, there is nothing in the records which indicates that provisions were made for colonization. This matter was only remotely considered, if considered at all. Jolliet was sent not to found a colony, but to solve the problem in which the secular government was primarily concerned and upon which the feasibility of colonies and missions depended. Accordingly, nothing was said of appointing a missionary to accompany the expedition, much less of placing a missionary in charge of it. If Jolliet desired to have a priest in the party, he was at liberty to select one. But from the start and ever after, Jolliet as well as the government thought the position of the priest to be that of a chaplain to the explorers and of a mediator between them and the Indians whom they would meet. At all events, only one man was appointed by the government to undertake the expedition—the layman, Jolliet. Whatever part Marquette eventually took therein, it was not on the strength of any choice and approval by either Talon or Frontenac. Only after the expedition and the loss of Jolliet's reports did the Jesuit Superior Dablon aver that the government authorities "were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party."[5] Like the publication of the Recit itself, this statement apparently had a distinct purpose, as will be indicated later.

There is another circumstance that by its very nature contravenes the theory of Marquette having participated in any official capacity. It is the conflict of interests that prevailed in New France before 1673 between the Jesuits and the civil government, not only as to authority and influence in general but as to the western project in particular. "The troubles at the time," writes Shea, "between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities will account for this," namely that "it would seem . . . Marquette was not officially chosen for the expedition."[6] As stated in the beginning of the third chapter, it is not unlikely that Talon chose and recommended Jolliet at the suggestion of the Jesuit Superior, discarding whatever suspicions he may have entertained as to the motive that prompted the suggestion. When Frontenac arrived, Talon recommended to him Jolliet as the man well fitted for the exploration of the great river. What he did not reveal, however,

[5] Recit MS., p. 2; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 89.

[6] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 5, note 2.

was the share that Father Dablon had, if he had any at all, in the choice of Jolliet. Least of all did he mention his suspicions and the reasons for them. It is known that Frontenac came to New France strongly prejudiced against the Jesuits, and that at the very time when he definitely appointed Jolliet this deep-seated prejudice found expression in his letter to Colbert.[7] Lorin is certainly justified in saying: "It would have been very strange that a governor, who already found the situation of the Jesuits excessive, should confide to one of them the care of a discovery which would have rendered them more powerful than ever."[8] The same holds with regard to Talon. He may have suspected that Jolliet would select a Jesuit to accompany the expedition. But he certainly did not approve the choice by any direct agreement or commission. "On the other hand," as Lorin correctly states, "there is no doubt that Marquette acted on instruction from Father Dablon, the Superior-General of the Jesuits in Canada."[9] If at Mission Saint Ignace he was waiting for Jolliet,[10] it was solely because Dablon had so arranged without the knowledge of Talon and Frontenac, informing the missionary of the proposed expedition and instructing him to co-operate with Jolliet who would come to Michillimackinac and to join his party when they departed for the west.

Despite the obvious fact that the Recit was published in order to emphasize the part taken by the missionary, it records at least one incident where Jolliet acts as the leader of the expedition. This is in connection with the arrival of the explorers among the Mascoutens Indians. After carefully noting that "we, Monsieur

[7] Frontenac to Colbert, November 2, 1672, in Margry, I, 248. See also Rochemonteix, III, 115, footnote.

[8] Lorin, p. 74.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 74. Shea says "there are indications that the venerable Bishop Laval, to accredit him [Marquette] to the Spanish authorities whom he might encounter, made him his Vicar-General for the lands into which they were to penetrate" (*The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 312-313). If so, the appointment was made through the bishop's representative at Quebec; for late in the fall of 1671 Laval departed for France and did not return to the colony until September, 1675. See Gosselin, I, 645, 662.

[10] Relation MS., p. 2; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 95.

Jollyet and I, assembled the elders together," the author of the Recit assigns to Jolliet the rôle of spokesman, letting him tell the natives whither the Frenchmen were bound and ask for two guides to conduct them to the Wisconsin. This is the only instance where the Recit represents the layman as leader. Considering its purpose, this is not surprising. But for that very reason one is justified in preferring to rest on documents which are unmistakably in Jolliet's handwriting; namely, the Saint-Sulpice MS. containing his copy of Dablon's Relation of August 1, 1674, supplemented by his personal letter of October 10, 1674, to Bishop de Laval and the letter which the explorer himself inscribed on the map revised for Colbert and preserved in MS. in the government archives in Paris. Meager as these documents are in supplying incidents that would serve our present purpose, they nevertheless contain a few that will be found highly significant. From the brief personal letter which Jolliet appended to the Relation we learn precisely to whom the Indians at Peouarea presented the Indian boy. Jolliet says, "I am much grieved over a little slave, ten years old, who had been presented to me."[11] This boy as also the calumet were presented by the Indians in token of their good will and of their allegiance to the French, to whom they looked for protection. It stands to reason, therefore, that the gifts were made to him who stood forth as the leader of the party and as the official agent of the French government. In this sense Jolliet interpreted the presents. In the case of the Indian boy, this is evident. Had the child been given to Marquette, Jolliet would surely not have taken him all the way to Quebec, but would have left him either at Green Bay or at Saint Ignace. Another incident showing Jolliet's leadership occurred at the Arkansas River. Here the decision not to proceed farther south was made by Jolliet. Although he does not say so, we may presume that he discussed the question with Marquette. But it was his word that settled the matter. In his letter to Laval he says simply, "Not being able to avoid falling into the hands of the Europeans, I decided to return."[12] In general, from

[11] Relation MS., p. 13. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 121, where the issue is evaded both in the case of the boy and in the case of the calumet.

[12] Relation MS., p. 14. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 101, and vol. 59, pp. 159-161, where the issue is again evaded.

what Jolliet wrote one must conclude that it was he who took note of the topography of the country; of its inhabitants and their mode of life; of its flora, fauna, and the mineral deposits; of the great river's tributaries; in short, of the possibilities for colonization and exploitation. "I have discovered on our route," he says, "more than 80 villages of savages, each of 60 to 180 cabins. I have seen but one of 300, where we conjectured that there were fully ten thousand souls." Speaking of the buffaloes, he says, "I have seen and counted as many as 400 of them together in a prairie." [13]

Were it not self-evident, it would be certain from what actually occurred that the man appointed by the government to undertake the expedition was expected also to report to the government on its success. Shea writes that "Frontenac had promised to send to Colbert a copy of the Relation of Marquette." [14] This is a mistake; Frontenac promised no such thing. The only document upon which Shea could have based his statement is Frontenac's letter of November 11, 1674. But in this the governor refers to the papers of Jolliet which had been lost in the Lachine Rapids and not to those of Marquette which till then had not been mentioned publicly by anyone. It was the copies of these papers that Frontenac hoped he would be able to get and send to Colbert with the next batch of official correspondence. In the meantime, the minister would have to content himself with the brief report which Jolliet had drawn up from memory and which he, the governor, was now transmitting together with the explorer's map. Highly significant in this regard is the fact that not even Dablon, when drawing up the Relation, made the slightest allusion to a report by Marquette. Surely, if the missionary was the leader of the expedition, it was for him to send an official account of it and for his superior to mention it in connection with Jolliet's loss.[15] The fact, then, that Jolliet alone drew up a report and traced a map and that this report and map received official recognition shows clearly that he alone was leader of the expedition. That the names which he applied to the rivers and lands did not long survive does not alter

[13] Relation MS., p. 14; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, pp. 97, 99.
[14] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxxiv.
[15] Margry, I, 257-263.

the case. There were other reasons for this, in the colony as well as in the mother country. Frontenac was ousted from the office of governor in 1682 and the great colonial minister Colbert died the following year.

It is important to inquire what opinion those held who were most intimately connected with the 1673 expedition. Whom Governor Frontenac regarded as its leader he himself indicated very plainly on November 11, 1674, three months after Jolliet's return. In fact, so far as he was concerned, only one could possibly come into consideration; and this was Jolliet; wherefore in his letter to Colbert he said nothing about Marquette, although in the last paragraph he refers to the Jesuits and their mission at Sault Sainte-Marie.[16] Jolliet is equally reticent in all his official reports. On the map which he revised for Colbert he inscribed along the Wisconsin River the following legend: "Route or River by which the Sieur Jolliet has entered the river Colbert that discharges in Mexico." One reason for Jolliet's silence was because to his mind the missionary was in no way officially connected with the expedition. This will be shown later together with another reason for his silence. In the beginning Dablon had the same opinion as Jolliet regarding Marquette's rôle, at least outwardly, though he wished it were otherwise and a few years later, after Marquette's death, took steps to place him on equal footing with, if not superior to Jolliet. The following incident reveals the mind of Duchesneau who was anything but hostile to the interests of the Jesuits. The government, it will be remembered, had held out "a good recompense to those who will achieve this discovery" of a passage to the South Sea. No such passage was discovered in 1673 and therefore, strictly speaking, the government incurred no obligation. But through the influence of Duchesneau, then intendant, Louis XIV on May 29, 1680, ratified the concession of the Island of Anticosti to Jolliet. This grant was made, as the intendant said, "in consideration of the discovery which the said sieur Jolliet has made of the country of the Illinois."[17] By this time Marquette's participation in the expedition was known. The intendant's failure to

[16] Margry, I, 257-258; Brodhead, IX, 116-117.

[17] *Acte de Concession de l'Isle d'Anticosti*, dated at Quebec in March, 1680. For text see Gagnon, pp. 230-231.

mention it in Jolliet's grant goes to show that the missionary's rôle was wholly unofficial so far as the government was concerned. Under the circumstances Duchesneau would have mentioned the name of Marquette.

It is frequently asserted that Frontenac, unwilling to give credit to a Jesuit for the solution of the western problem, purposely suppressed the name of Marquette. One writer thinks that "Frontenac takes great care not to mention Marquette."[18] Another finds it "noteworthy, as charactertistic of Frontenac that this governor on reporting to the French minister, M. Colbert, the exploration of the Mississippi, buried in profoundest silence the circumstance that the Jesuit Father Marquette was with Jolliet on the journey."[19] Whatever one may think regarding Frontenac's attitude toward the Jesuits, here is one charge that has no foundation in fact. When he wrote that letter of November 11, 1674, he either knew of Marquette's share in the enterprise or he did not. If he did know of it, he would surely have cited this circumstance in justification of what he wrote at the very time that he announced the return of Jolliet.[20] When this letter was written, only two persons in Quebec knew that Marquette had accompanied the expedition—Dablon and Jolliet. Why the Jesuit Superior should have withheld the fact from Frontenac is quite plain. To inform the governor of it would have frustrated the plan he had already formed and prepared to carry out when, shortly after interviewing Jolliet, he sent private instructions to Marquette for the founding of a mission in the Illinois country.[21] As to Jolliet, there were two reasons why he did not inform Frontenac. In the first place, neither in the beginning nor ever after did he regard Marquette as having been officially connected with the enterprise; wherefore, he concluded, this circumstance needed no special mention in an official report. His other reason was the same as that of Dablon.[22] Two years had elapsed since he set out from Quebec

[18] Rochemonteix, III, 34. He alludes to the governor's letters of November 2, 1672, and November 11, 1674, both to Colbert.

[19] Hughes, Rev. Thomas, S. J., *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (London, 1917), II, 255, note 1.

[20] Frontenac to Colbert, November 14, 1674, in Margry, I, 250.

[21] See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 165; also pp. 67-69, 185.

[22] What Lorin (p. 101) says in this connection concerning the passport

on his expedition. During this time, Frontenac had made it plain that he would brook no opposition or interference and that he had set his mind on preventing the Jesuits from gaining control of the west. Of this attitude and policy Jolliet became aware on his return to Quebec and therefore understood what an unpleasant situation he himself and the Jesuits would be in, should this particular circumstance of the expedition come to the knowledge of the governor. Subsequent events seem to justify the conclusion that, during their interview before August 1, 1674, Dablon and Jolliet mutually agreed not to divulge what would have proved so embarrassing for both. Accordingly, when he wrote out his report to the governor, using Dablon's Relation together with his own supplementary letter, Jolliet prudently avoided mentioning Marquette's name or even hinting that a missionary had accompanied the expedition. Speaking of his companions, he even went so far as to say, "I embarked with six men on the river of Misconsing." To Rochemonteix's question, "Is it credible that Jolliet did not speak to him [Frontenac] of it?" [23] we must reply in the affirmative; not only is it credible, but certain. Gagnon says correctly, "there is reason to believe that the second voyage of the apostle of the Illinois [Marquette], accomplished in 1674-1675, was concealed from the governor as the first one had been concealed." [24] But even granted that Frontenac knew of Marquette's share in the enterprise and purposely left it unmentioned when writing to Colbert, this can be interpreted only as meaning either that Marquette was not appointed by Frontenac or that Frontenac considered Marquette's position merely accidental and wholly subsidiary to that of Jolliet.

The Jesuit Superior, however, had from the start conceived plans concerning the west which came to Jolliet's notice only two months later. Under date of May 17, 1674, Colbert informed Frontenac

has no weight. Marquette needed no passport from the civil authorities, no more than Father Albanel needed one so long as he journeyed under Saint-Simon, the leader of the Hudson Bay expedition of 1671. Only after it was decided that Albanel should complete the journey without the leader, did the missionary send to Quebec for the necessary passport. See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 56, pp. 157-159.

[23] Rochemonteix, III, 35, note.

[24] Gagnon, p. 178. See also Lorin, pp. 74, 95.

that the king had not approved "the request which the Jesuits have expressed to you to extend their missions in the distant countries."[25] This letter reached New France by the autumn sailing, presumably in September and consequently after Dablon had sent word to Marquette at Green Bay to proceed with the founding of the mission in the Illinois country.[26] Considering the fact that Frontenac had been approached by the Jesuits in regard to their western project, it is quite evident that he now without delay informed the Jesuit Superior of the king's decision. But Dablon did not relinquish his project; for late in October, 1674, he wrote two letters that clearly manifest his plan to represent Marquette as the leader of the expedition and thereby establish the prior right of the Jesuits to the Illinois and Mississippi territory as a new mission field. On October 24, 1674, he addressed a letter to the Provincial in Paris, in which he made the following statement:

> After the successful attempts made, two years ago, by Father Albanel to secure easier access to the northern sea, fresh enterprises were expected on our part[27] for the discovery of the southern sea. This was done this year[28] by Father Marquette, who, after extending his journey to the 33rd degree of latitude, came back safely last spring.[29] He regards it as certain that, after descending for several days the great river that he discovered, he arrived in Florida; and that, if he had continued to descend forty or fifty leagues farther, he would have reached the gulf of Mexico.
>
> Since his return, that Father has remained in the country of the Outaouais [Ottawas], that he may be fully prepared to establish missions among the Illinois, the nearest and the most docile of the tribes that he has discovered. Should he not return to them this year, it will be because we must not abandon those whom we have begun to instruct.[30]

[25] Colbert to Frontenac, May 17, 1674, in Clement, III[2], 578; also in Margry, I, 249, and Brodhead, IX, 114-115.

[26] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 165.

[27] "*on attendait de notre part de nouvelles entreprises.*"

[28] The letter is dated October 24, 1674; wherefore the statement "this year" is noteworthy, the expedition having taken place in 1673, the year before.

[29] Another misstatement. Marquette, according to the Recit, came back "at the end of September."

[30] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 67-69.

This letter was written in French. On the following day, October 25, 1674, he wrote in Latin to the Superior General at Rome, Father Paul Oliva, saying:

> After the sea of the north was found by Father Albanel two years ago, we had given hope that we would discover also the southern sea. Father Marquette discovered [it] this year, who happily returned from it this last summer. . . . In the month of June of the year 1673, when Father Marquette had finally found that famous river, . . . he navigated on that river to the 33rd degree of altitude. . . . But from there he preferred to return, lest he deliver his companions into the hands of the Spaniards, who he heard were not far off. . . . [He] remained with the Outaouaci [Ottawas] in order to be in readiness [31] to take over a mission among the Illinois.[32]

The publication of the narrative of the expedition by Thevenot, in 1681, was to all appearance an effort on the part of the Jesuits toward fixing their claim to the western regions. No one can deny that on the basis of priority this claim was fully justified. Marquette and Allouez were in the Illinois country before La Salle or any of the Sulpician and Franciscan missionaries. The conflict of interests that eventually took place in the Mississippi valley is foreign to the purpose of the present study. What should be stressed here, however, is the fact that for fifty years or so after Thevenot's publication there was no question as to who had been leader of the 1673 expedition. The point of controversy was whether the expedition had reached the Mississippi at all. This was denied by La Salle and the Franciscans, while the Jesuits and their adherents affirmed it. Regarding the leadership in 1673, all agreed that the leader had been Jolliet, the man who had been appointed by the government. To have lost his official report was his misfortune; but that he had led the enterprise was not questioned, despite the fact that Thevenot's publications of what was taken to be Marquette's narrative could have been interpreted in favor of the missionary. In his memoir of 1688, the Marquis de Denonville, then governor of New France, alluding to the 1673 expedition, made mention of both Jolliet and Marquette, but placed

[31] "*ut sit in procinctu.*"

[32] See lengthy quotation from this Latin letter in Rochemonteix, III, 11, note.

the name of the layman first.[33] The favor and protection which Frontenac during his second term as governor (1689-1698) extended to Jolliet is clearly indicative of his opinion as to who was at the head of the enterprise in 1673. Finally, there is ample reason to hold that it was he together with Intendant Champigny who in 1696 sanctioned the list of such as had deserved well of the colony and had this list sent to the home government. Among those listed was also Jolliet, and what seems to have recommended him in particular was the fact that, as the note stated, "he has accomplished the first exploration of the Mississippi."[34]

It was not until about the middle of the following century that the question of leadership came to the front. For this the narrative of the Jesuit historian Charlevoix was mainly responsible. After pointing out the problem that existed concerning the Mississippi River, Charlevoix wrote:

> The Intendant did not wish to depart from America without having cleared up this important point; he placed in charge of this discovery Father Marquette, who had already passed through all the countries of Canada, and who was highly respected by the savages, and he joined to him a citizen of Quebec, named Jolliet, a man of intelligence and experience.[35]

Despite his esteem for the Jesuits and particularly for Marquette, Jolliet did not regard anyone but himself as the leader of the expedition. Such was the understanding also between him and and the Jesuit Superior, of whose plan he was not aware until about three months after his return, when he obtained Dablon's Relation in order to copy it for Bishop de Laval. Here he saw what prominence Dablon was giving the missionary. To this Jolliet took exception, as his supplementary letter of October 10, 1674, sufficiently indicates. Barring the account of his mishap in the Lachine Rapids, which he relates in greater detail, Jolliet's supplementary letter adds nothing to what had already been stated by Dablon. In view of this, one naturally asks why the explorer wrote this letter at all, if it was not to correct an impression created by

[33] Brodhead, IX, 383-384.

[34] Gagnon, pp. 284-285, for this incident and the recommendation of Jolliet.

[35] Charlevoix, I, 445-446.

the Relation. Significant in this letter is the absence of all reference to Marquette; likewise, the emphasis with which Jolliet stresses his own share in the enterprise; and finally, the fact that at least in one instance he positively contradicts a statement made by Dablon. One cannot read both documents without coming to the conclusion that Jolliet's purpose in appending that letter was to assert his priority over Marquette as leader of the expedition.

How or when Governor Frontenac learned that Marquette had been with the explorer is not known. Nor does it matter. The fact is, he heard of it and did not fail to manifest his displeasure by slighting Jolliet and openingly supporting La Salle's project of westward exploration. It is easy to understand that Jolliet took this to heart, while a number of facts seem to indicate that the affair caused an estrangement between him and the Jesuits. There is nothing on record to show that he ever again in his later career visited the Illinois country or that he at any time espoused the cause of the Jesuits in their controversy with La Salle. In 1678, a year after he had been refused permission to settle in Illinois, he and La Salle were among the twenty men summoned to Quebec by the civil authorities to present their view concerning the sale of liquor to the Indians. On this occasion Jolliet recommended that a moderate sale be permitted in the French settlements, but that the transportation of liquor into the forest be prohibited.[36] Now, this was certainly not in line with the attitude of the Jesuits toward the vexing problem, but a concession to the stand taken by the government. The following year, Jolliet undertook an expedition to Hudson Bay. On this occasion he was accompanied by the Jesuit Father, Antoine Silvy, then missionary at Tadoussac.[37] This is the last time so far as records show that Jolliet united with a Jesuit in any public endeavor. In 1681, when he settled with his wife and four children together with six servants on the Island of Anticosti, it was a Franciscan Father, probably Simon de la Place, whose services he engaged as chaplain and missionary.[38] It may have been through his wife that he came in closer touch with the Franciscans. At all events, that it was

[36] Gagnon, pp. 200-204.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 216-225.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 236; 261, note 2.

they who now began to figure in his life to the apparent exclusion of the Jesuits seems noteworthy.[39]

We may readily presume that the publication of Thevenot soon found its way to Canada and that Jolliet's attention was drawn to it. If anyone was interested in its content, it was surely he; while Frontenac, now in France, would not have failed to cite it as evidence in support of his policy as governor of the colony. If Jolliet actually knew of Thevenot's publication he never directly referred to it. There is only one instance on record where, it would seem, he sought to counteract the influence of what Thevenot put out as Marquette's narrative. On November 10th, 1685, he wrote to the Marquis de Seignelay, the son and successor of Colbert as colonial minister. In this letter, accompanying the map which he sent, Jolliet directed attention to the forty-nine voyages he had made in New France during the preceding eighteen years. In reference to the map he remarked that he was not adding "the map of the Illinois, Mechisipi, nor of the Bay of the North [Hudson Bay] by the lands." The reason he assigned was "because those [maps] that have been sent to his majesty these last years have been made only on my memoirs; the very enterprises which have at present been made in the country of Canada are but the result of information which I have furnished."[40] The circumstance that this was written four years after the appearance of Thevenot's volume and that no allusion is made to Marquette in connection with the Illinois and the Mississippi is very significant, especially since Thevenot had a map of the Mississippi region.

In October, 1689, Frontenac returned to New France as governor, which office he held until his death at Quebec on November 28, 1698. During this second term, relations between him and Jolliet were very cordial. One of the governor's first acts was to approve the expedition which Jolliet undertook to Labrador in 1690.[41] On returning, the explorer learned that his fort

[39] See *La Revue Franciscaine* (Montreal) January and February, 1927, pp. 29-33 and 78-85, for an article by Rev. Theodoric Paré, O. F. M., concerning two of Jolliet's nephews who joined the Franciscan Order in Canada.

[40] For this letter see Marcel, Gabriel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1885), pp. 14-15.

[41] Gagnon, p. 253.

on the Island of Anticosti had been destroyed by the English under Sir William Phipps.[42] On November 2, 1693, Jolliet wrote from Quebec to the intendant-general at Paris. In this letter he reminded the official of what Governor Frontenac had written in his favor.[43] The following year he was commissioned by Frontenac and Champigny, the intendant, for a second voyage to Labrador. Taking his family to the Isle of Mingan, where he had previously established a settlement, Jolliet embarked there for the distant north, accompanied by a Franciscan and forty men.[44] Gratified over the results of this voyage, Frontenac found occasion to have the explorer visit France and there make the acquaintance of the higher officials. He was received by these with every mark of esteem, thanks to the letter of introduction with which the governor had favored him. In this letter Frontenac said that "M. de Champigny is not less disposed than I am to aid Jolliet in every way possible, and he surely deserves it."[45] It was during this visit in Paris and in view of his past services that Jolliet was honored by the government with the title of royal pilot. This distinction proved of advantage soon after his return to Canada in the summer of 1696. Franquelin, royal professor of hydrography at Quebec, had left the colony. Accordingly, at the request of Frontenac and Champigny, this title and office was conferred upon Jolliet by the king in the spring of 1697, together with a small seigniory near Quebec.[46] Under the auspices of the government with an annual allowance of four hundred livres, he opened a school of hydrography at Quebec which he conducted for the next three years. As seems to have been his custom, at the close of the term in the spring of 1700, Jolliet went to the Island of Anticosti in order to spend the summer there. Here, apparently sometime before September 15, he breathed his last.[47] After his

[42] It seems that Jolliet was in the habit of spending the summer at Anticosti, returning for the winter to Quebec.

[43] Gagnon, p. 255.

[44] Probably the same who went with him to Anticosti in 1681.

[45] Quoted by Harrisse, *Notes*, p. 133.

[46] Gagnon, pp. 284-288.

[47] The place as well as the exact date of the death of Jolliet has up to the present remained an unsolved problem. Gagnon (p. 290) thinks he died at Anticosti. As to the date of his death, there is a memorandum of

death, the Jesuits offered to teach hydrography at their college in Quebec. The offer was accepted by the government authorities, with whose consent Franquelin was reappointed to the office of professor.

The favors bestowed upon Jolliet during the last decade of his life and the confidence placed in him by Frontenac naturally lead to the conclusion that the governor had completely changed his opinion regarding the man who twenty years before had achieved the first exploration of the Mississippi River. Frontenac no longer considered him "wholly devoted" to the Jesuits and by them "extolled in advance." [48] He realized that this accusation of his against Jolliet would now be unfounded and for that reason he did all in his power to nullify the effects of it in France. As to Jolliet himself, the incidents in his later career, especially during Frontenac's second term, afford a clue to his attitude toward the question we are discussing. Many a time, no doubt, he thought and spoke of Marquette who had accompanied him on that memorable expedition and upon whose share in it the Jesuits were now claiming the great valley as their mission field. What Jolliet could not foresee, however, was the fact that in time his own name would be practically forgotten in connection with that enterprise and the leadership in it be accorded to the man for whom he had the highest esteem, but whose position on that occasion he could regard only as having been subsidiary to his own.

The relative position occupied by Jolliet and Marquette in 1673 may be illustrated by comparing their expedition with similar enterprises of the Spaniards and French on the continent of North America. Narváez was accompanied on his voyage to Florida by five Franciscans and a number of secular priests. Now, it would be wholly unreasonable to contend that one of these was in command of the undertaking. This distinction can not be allotted even to the Superior of the friars, Juan Juarez, despite the fact

burials and requiem masses kept by the curate of the Church of Notre Dame, in Quebec. Under the year 1700 is this entry: "September 15, a service for the deceased M. Jolliet in recognition of his having played the organ at the cathedral and parish during many years. Given gratis." See *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* (Beauceville), XX (1914), 267.

[48] See Frontenac's letter written in 1667 to Colbert, quoted in Tailhan, p. 287; Gravier, *Découvertes*, p. 60; Chesnel, p. 51.

that he came in the capacity of bishop. Father Marcos de Niza may be called the discoverer of New Mexico. But he by no means headed the exploration of the northern interior, in 1540. The sole leader on that occasion was Coronado, the man appointed by the government, entrusted with the direction of affairs, and made responsible for the outcome. The enterprise continued, even after Marcos de Niza, the Superior of the Franciscans, returned to Mexico. Father Alonzo Martínez was appointed Superior of the thirteen Franciscans who in 1598 accompanied Oñate into what is now New Mexico. The success of the undertaking was due in large measure to the zeal, energy, and prudence of Martínez as also to his readiness to co-operate with the man officially in charge of the project. Yet no historian ever thought of according to him the distinction of having led the enterprise. And correctly so. Oñate was the leader. To style Father Junípero Serra the apostle of California may be in keeping with historical facts. Besides governing the missions during the first fifteen years of their existence, he set the example of heroic fortitude and unshaken trust in God that saved the situation when the soldiers were clamoring to return to Mexico. Nevertheless it would be claiming too much for Serra to assert that he was at the head of the project which resulted in the occupation of California. Here again the rank of leadership belongs exclusively to Portolá, the viceroy's agent and representative. Had the transport "San Antonio" not arrived on the evening of March 19, 1770, Portolá would have led his troops back to Mexico; and in doing so he would have acted entirely within his powers. He was the official leader and the only responsible party. On this as on all other occasions the friars played their part, but merely as chaplains to the troops or as missionaries to the Indians.

The same is true of the priests who accompanied the French explorers in New France. In 1671 Talon undertook the exploration of Hudson Bay. The man commissioned by him was not the Jesuit Father Albanel, but the Sieur de Saint-Simon. Talon says expressly that he appointed this nobleman to take possession of the bay region in the name of the French king, to erect the standard of France, and to draw up a *procès verbal* according to the prescribed formula.[49] According to the Jesuit *Relation* of that

[49] Margry, I, 94.

year, Saint-Simon seems not to have gone the entire distance to Hudson Bay; wherefore it would be just to say that the success of the expedition devolved ultimately on the missionary and the two Frenchmen detailed by Saint-Simon to bear him company on the remaining journey to the bay. That he was now leader Father Albanel realized and therefore sent one of the men to Quebec in order to get for him the necessary passport from the government. When the messenger returned with this passport and with further instructions of the government authorities, the missionary with his two companions continued the journey and reached Hudson Bay.[50] Granting the account in the *Relation* to be correct, it clearly demonstrates that as long as Albanel was in the company of Saint-Simon, he considered himself merely chaplain and guide, in which capacity he needed no special passport and instructions. The co-operative expedition of La Salle and the Sulpicians, in 1669, is a case where both the layman and the missionary were commissioned by the civil authorities. Both were, therefore, at the head of their respective party and consequently justified in parting company. Finally, we have the expedition that left Crèvecoeur, La Salle's fort in Illinois, in 1682, for the purpose of sailing down the Illinois River and exploring the upper reaches of the Mississippi. Who the leader was on this occasion we learn from La Salle himself, who equipped the expedition and sent it on its mission. He writes that the canoe was "conducted by two of my men, the one named Michel Ako and the other Picard, whom the Reverend Father Louis Hempin,[51] Franciscan, accompanied, in order not to lose the occasion of preaching the gospel to some people who lived above and who had never heard speak of it."[52] The question of leadership on this journey Thwaites answers by saying, "Accau [Ako] appears to have been the real head of the party, the grey-gown being merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary."[53] In like manner Winsor claims that "Accault was put in command

[50] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 56, pp. 157-159.

[51] Thus La Salle always spells the name of this missionary.

[52] Relation du Voyage de La Salle, MS. in Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), *Collection Clairambault*, vol. 1016, p. 181. The document is published in Margry, II, 212-262.

[53] Thwaites, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America by Father Louis Hennepin*, (Chicago, 1903), Introduction, p. xxix.

of the party and Hennepin was detailed to accompany him." [54] Both these statements are correct; the layman was the leader. But, it may be asked, why should this conclusion of Thwaites and Winsor not be correct also in the case of Marquette? Hennepin had at least some sort of official government appointment, whereas Marquette had none whatever. Why deny the distinction of leadership to the missionary in one case and not in the other? The fact is, in these as in all similar enterprises undertaken by the civil authorities, leadership belonged to the layman and not to the priest. The former had the official appointment, the direct control, and the final responsibility; while the latter was "merely the usual ecclesiastical supernumerary." In this respect the 1673 expedition was no exception.

The wide recognition that Charlevoix acquired in the field of historical scholarship made his *Histoire et Description de la Nouvelle France* the outstanding source of information. Hence we find that during the century following the publication of this work, in 1744, historical writers never debated the question as to the leadership in the 1673 expedition. They simply took it for granted that the leader on this occasion was Father Marquette, as the narrative of the event, written by the missionary himself and consulted by so eminent an authority as Charlevoix, clearly testified. Jolliet was practically forgotten. The first historian to suggest the possible incongruity of regarding the missionary as the leader of the enterprise was Shea. In 1852, the same year in which he left the Jesuit Order and returned from Montreal to New York,[55] he published his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. This contained the original text with an English translation of the Montreal manuscript of what is generally known as the Recit or Narrative of the 1673 expedition.[56] What apparently surprised Shea was Dablon's statement in the introduction to this narrative that Frontenac and Talon "appointed at the same time for this undertaking Sieur Jolyet, whom they

[54] Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 267, 276.

[55] See Guilday, Rev. Peter, *John Gilmary Shea, Father of American Catholic History* (New York, 1926), pp. 28-29.

[56] It was published simultaneously by Benjamin F. French as Part IV of his *Historical Collections of Louisiana*.

considered very fit for so great an enterprise; and they were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party." Comparing this observation with what Charlevoix had written and all historians after him had taken for granted, Shea ventured the following comment:

> It would seem by this wording that Marquette was not officially chosen for the expedition. The troubles at the time between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities will account for this, while the researches made by Marquette as to the river, and his knowledge of the Indians and their dialects, rendered it important that he should be one of the party. That his account alone survived, and that it was published in his name,[57] was something neither expected nor intended by any of those concerned, as M. Jollyet had prepared an account of the expedition, the loss of which, as stated in the text, alone raised the journal of Father Marquette to its present degree of importance.[58]

To all appearances Shea did not relish the idea of contradicting the generally accepted opinion; wherefore he did not express in precise terms the conclusion he must have formed in his mind. Contemporary writers, however, among whom was the Jesuit Father Jules Tailhan, profited by Shea's observation and, after weighing the question, decided in favor of Jolliet. Not till six years before his death did the eminent American Catholic historian let it be known in unmistakable terms whom he regarded as the leader of the 1673 expedition. After long years of earnest study and reflection Shea publicly voiced his conviction that Jolliet had been appointed for the enterprise and that Marquette had accompanied him by orders from his superior.[59]

In 1873, on June 17, the second centenary of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition was commemorated at Laval University in Quebec. The celebration was in large measure an attempt to restore to his rightful place in Canadian history the man "toward whom," as Gagnon later expressed it, "posterity . . . has shown itself too

[57] By Thevenot, in 1681.

[58] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. 5, note 2.

[59] Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886), p. 312.

[60] Gagnon, p. 293.

oblivious." In his scholarly discourse for the occasion l'Abbé Verreau declared it was time to make Jolliet known, and struck the keynote by contending that "Jolliet was ordered to direct the expedition, but was to join to himself Father Marquette." [61]

After this centennial celebration in Quebec, Canadian writers continued to give due recognition to Jolliet, although the question as to leadership in the 1673 expedition was little discussed. The same obtained for about twenty-five years among writers in the United States and France. During the lifetime of Shea,[62] the matter of Marquette's priority over Jolliet was not made the topic of a formal discussion. In 1895, however, a Jesuit historian in France touched on the question when he stated that "Jolliet was the official head of the exploration, and Marquette the intellectual head, that is to say, the guide and the spokesman." [63] Evidently, the question had by this time reached the threshold of historical controversy. Let us hear the arguments advanced by those who defended Marquette's right to be called the leader of the expedition.

In 1901, Rev. Thomas E. Sherman discussed the question in an address before the Chicago Historical Society. Taking the narrative of the expedition, as preserved in MS. in the Jesuit archives at Montreal, and stressing the statement that "Monsieur Jollyet arrived with orders [from Frontenac and Talon] to accomplish this discovery with me," [64] the speaker argued that "Marquette could not say, Joliet was sent 'to go with me,' unless he himself had been the admitted head and front of the expedition." [65]

Father Sherman's observation may have been evoked by what appeared a year earlier in the 59th volume of Thwaites's edition of the *Jesuit Relations*. To elucidate a statement in the Recit that Frontenac and Talon had appointed Jolliet and "were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party," the editor expatiated on the opinion of Shea in the following note:

[61] Verreau, "Discours" in *200e Anniversaire de la Découverte du Mississipi* (Quebec, 1873), pp. 15, 23.

[62] He died on February 22, 1892.

[63] Rochemonteix, III, 40.

[64] Recit MS., p. 3; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 89-91.

[65] Chicago Historical Society, *Proceedings*, I (1888-1892), 333.

> The wording of this passage would indicate Jolliet as the official leader of the expedition; but the authorities doubtless regarded Marquette as a valuable assistant to the enterprise on account of his knowledge of the Indian tongues and the savage character, as well as of the information regarding the great river which he had acquired while connected with the Ottawa mission.[66]

That this was written by Thwaites is probable from the fact that he was the editor of the *Relations*. Certainty as to his opinion is found, however, in his biography of Marquette. Here he writes:

> It is idle to ask whether to Jolliet or to Marquette shall be given the greater credit for the discovery of the Mississippi. Their names, in this connection, must always be mentioned in common; the priest, certainly, was as important to the expedition as the civilian, and it is to the Jesuit that we owe the record. But, apart from this incident in his career, Father Marquette stands in history as typical of the highest ideals and achievements in the splendid missionary enterprise of the Jesuits of New France.[67]

A year after the publication of this biography another appeared in France under the title *Au Mississipi*. It was the work of the Jesuit Father Alfred Hamy, who three years before, in 1900, had addressed a letter to M. Henri Cordier, directing the attention of his scholarly friend and of the learned societies "to the honors rendered to the memory of Marquette by the Americans."[68] In this work on the Mississippi, Father Hamy defends the missionary's right to the title of leader of the expedition as follows:

> It would be in place to ask now why Jolliet, appointed by Count Frontenac on the recommendation of the intendant Talon head of the expedition and official delegate, having all powers from the governor of New France, disappears almost completely from the account, eclipsed by the luster with which public opinion surrounds the name of Marquette. It is not in the difference alone of their respective age that one must seek the explanation of the prominence accorded to the Jesuit. In the eyes of the Indians the Black Robe was a superior being by integrity of morals, abnegation, zeal, and practice

[66] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 307, note 15.

[67] Thwaites, *Father Marquette* (New York, 1902), pp. 232-233.

[68] See Cordier, p. 58.

> of all virtues. . . . This it is that in the mind of the Indians gave to Marquette an incontestable superiority.
>
> To this first element of success was added another not less considerable. A sojourn of two years at the mission of La Pointe du Saint-Esprit had brought the missionary in contact with most of the representatives delegated by the tribes of the north and the west to trade in furs. . . . The name of the Jesuit was known then to the majority of the tribes. Thus, at great distances from Lake Superior, his person was the object of universal respect. This is why, in the mind of the Indians, Marquette was the soul of the expedition. They could not have regarded in the same light the delegate of the government. At this epoch love for France . . . had not yet penetrated their hearts. As a result, Jolliet appeared to them inferior to Marquette. That was also the opinion of the French colony, and the moral superiority of the missionary assures him even to-day the first place, at least in the eyes of those who are profiting most directly by his works, in the United States of North America. Should it be necessary to add that the governors and their delegates represented to the mind of the savages only invaders of their territory, prepared to drive them toward the west by force of arms. Before their conversion to Catholicism, could they have seen in the king of France and his representatives natural protectors of right, welfare, justice, and liberty?

In his "Conclusion" Father Hamy again touches on the question, at the same time disclosing the purpose for which he wrote the book.

> To Marquette is due the first rank, because in this exploration, in which no one can hereafter deny him the priority, we see shining in him greater intrepidity, zeal, meekness, and energy.
>
> Honored abroad as a benefactor of humanity and a living model of all apostolic virtues, would it were possible for him to be one day proclaimed, in his native land, a worthy child of France and of Laon![69]

A co-operative history of Wisconsin was published in 1906. The first of the four volumes contained a complete narrative from 1634 to 1760. The author of this first volume, apparently Henry C. Campbell, realized that in the 1673 expedition the leadership had usually been assigned to Marquette. That he doubted the historical

[69] Hamy, pp. 10-12, 212.

correctness of this view, but was willing to hear the arguments in support of it, may be gathered from what he wrote in the Preface:

> Some writers claim for Marquette the honor of discovering the Mississippi River. Prominent among these is the Reverend Henry S. Spalding, vice-president of Marquette College, Milwaukee, a scholar of high rank who has for years made a special study of Marquette's life and labors. In order that this claim in behalf of Marquette might be fairly stated, the editor requested Father Spalding to outline the reasons for the ground he takes.[70]

Father Spalding complied, this time adducing evidence for the truth of what he had previously taken for granted.[71] His defense of Marquette's title was embodied in the above-mentioned volume, together with a refutation presumably by Campbell.[72]

Nearly two decades elapsed before the question was again ventilated and Father Spalding reiterated his earlier contention in support of Marquette. The occasion of this renewal of the controversy was the 250th anniversary of the Jolliet-Marquette expedition. As the event richly deserved, the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* founded in 1918, prepared to commemorate it in a befitting manner. This was announced in the October issue of 1921 by Joseph J. Thompson, editor-in-chief of the *Review,* who at the same time revived the question as to leadership in the expedition when he wrote:

> There never was any dispute or conflict of authority of any kind between Marquette and Jolliet. One was deputed to make the journey as much as the other. The work of the layman was intended for Jolliet, and that of a priest for Marquette. Marquette was older, and much better informed than Jolliet, and the latter very naturally deferred to him. In the sense of greater influence Father Marquette was the leader of the expedition.[73]

[70] *Wisconsin in Three Centuries,* 1634-1905 (New York, 1906), I, 196.

[71] In the September, 1902, issue of *The Messenger* (pp. 269-277) he published an article entitled "Marquette and De Soto—Was Marquette a Discoverer?" Throughout this article he assumed the leadership of Marquette as a matter of fact.

[72] *Wisconsin in Three Centuries,* I, 196-208.

[73] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* III, 115, note 2.

A notable feature of the celebration in 1923 was a special issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* devoted exclusively to the "Commemoration of the Two-Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Mississippi River by Marquette and Jolliet." In this issue the outstanding defender of Marquette's title was Father Spalding. In his article "Who Discovered the Mississippi?" he embodied a revised version of the reply which he had written for Henry C. Campbell.[74]

Father Spalding begins his discussion by clearly stating the question at issue and briefly indicating on what he intends to base Marquette's right to the title of leader in the 1673 expedition.

> Why has not posterity given to Joliet the honors of the discovery of the Mississippi?[75] If we turn to the records of the times we shall find an answer to these questions. It is true that only Joliet received from Frontenac the official appointment to undertake the voyage of discovery, but he was to make use of the information furnished by the missionaries.

After showing that the French government was indebted mainly to the Jesuits for what it knew regarding the great river, Father Spalding continues:

> Such in brief is the information gathered by the scattered black-robes and sent by them to Quebec and even to France before Joliet received his commission to undertake the discovery.[76] It is true that other Frenchmen heard of the great river, but they had neither the education nor the inclination to make a record of their observations. It was from the Jesuits that the Canadian Government received by far the greater

[74] It contained also, with some variations and modifications, the 1902 contribution to the *Messenger.* The entire article, as it appeared in the special issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* had previously been published in the June and July numbers, 1923, of *The Queen's Work.* The present writer also was requested to contribute to the special number of the *Review.* His article appeared under the title "The Discovery of the Mississippi River" (pp. 50-65). Portions of what he wrote then have found their way into the present study.

[75] In his reply to Campbell he added, "Why has he not at least shared the honors with Father Marquette?" See *Wisconsin in Three Centuries,* I, 198.

[76] For variation at this point see *Wisconsin in Three Centuries,* I, 201-202.

part of the information in regard to the Mississippi. None of this information came from Joliet. The Jesuits held the key to this unknown land, this far-famed river; Joliet entered the door which they unlocked, he followed the way which they pointed out to him.

It was not by chance or any casual meeting that Marquette accompanied Joliet. This we learn from a letter written by Father Dablon after the return of Joliet from the voyage. "On arriving in the Ottawa country he (Joliet) joined Father Marquette who awaited him for the voyage, and who had long premeditated the undertaking." If Joilet held the official appointment from the Governor, Marquette was duly appointed by his superior to undertake the discovery. But was any effort made by the missionary to deprive Joliet of the glory? The question sounds like an insult to the gentle, simple, unpretending Marquette, who gave his companion the honor of carrying to Quebec the glad tidings of the discovery. He himself remained with the Indians in the forest while Joliet reported the success of the expedition to Frontenac, and the Mississippi was claimed and occupied by the French. Joliet received the Island of Anticosti for his services, and history awarded the glory of the enterprise to the Jesuit missionary. Wisconsin has carved the verdict in marble; that verdict will not be changed.[77]

Before showing how the arguments advanced by these writers invariably fail to touch the real issue, it is important to discuss briefly a number of statements which, apart from being irrelevant, are apt to leave a false impression. That, as Thwaites says, "it is to the Jesuit that we owe the record" of the expedition, may for the present be accepted as correct. But Jolliet has also left us a record of the enterprise; and, what is more, the authorship of this record is incontestably established by the fact that we have it in his own handwriting. To judge from Marquette's letters of 1670 and 1672,[78] the missionary was greatly interested in the western project; he possessed considerable information regarding the great river; he had learned how to deal with the Indians;[79] and, according to the Recit, he was conversant with six Indian languages.[80]

[77] *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, VI, 47-49.

[78] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 54, pp. 168-195; vol. 57, pp. 248-262.

[79] Recit MS., p. 31; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 153.

[80] For what he knew of the Illinois tongue he was in large measure indebted to Father Allouez, who came in contact with the Illinois Indians

It would be wrong to suppose, however, that Jolliet was less interested in the problem of the Mississippi River and less fitted to attempt its solution. The Jesuit Superior says expressly that Jolliet and Marquette "frequently planned it [the expedition] together." [81] He testifies also to Jolliet's fitness when he commends the governor and the intendant for having entrusted the enterprise to him. He writes:

> They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Sieur Jolyet, for he is a young man, born in this country, who possesses all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking. He has experience and knows the languages spoken in the country of the Outaouacs [Ottawas], where he has passed several years. He possesses tact and prudence, which are the chief qualities necessary for the success of the voyage as dangerous as it is difficult. Finally, he has the courage to dread nothing where everything is to be feared. Consequently, he has fulfilled all the expectations entertained of him; and if, after having passed through a thousand dangers, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor, . . . nothing would have been left to be desired in the success of his voyage.[82]

On the strength of Dablon's testimony and other known facts, Ernest Gagnon writes:

> Jolliet had drawn very precise charts of the regions through which he had passed during his two voyages among the Ottawas;[83] the numerous portages, falls, rapids, lakes, and rivers of the countries which he had traversed were carefully indicated, and it was doubtless these important works of cartography, as also his knowledge of the Huron and Algonquin tongues, his probity, his learning, his tact, that were of value to the youthful Canadian explorer in being chosen by Talon and Frontenac for a mission so exceptionally difficult as that

three years before Marquette. He studied their language carefully and, on Marquette's appointment for the Illinois country, presented his fellow missionary with a book of prayers and instructions in the Illinois tongue. This manuscript booklet is still extant. On the flyleaf is a note in Allouez's hand. It reads: "*Fait par le P. Cl. Allouez pour le P. Marquette.*"

[81] Relation MS., p. 2; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 58, p. 95.

[82] Recit MS., p. 2; *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 89. See also Relation MS., p. 1.

[83] Between June, 1669, and June, 1671.

of undertaking the discovery of a passage leading to the South Sea.[84]

The truth of these two statements is amply borne out by facts. Jolliet had spent the greater part of five years (1668-1673) in the western regions. During this time he certainly obtained information regarding the Mississippi; wherefore Spalding's opinion that "none of this information came [to the government] from Joliet," is more probably wrong than correct. Thwaites thinks that "during his years in the Lake Superior country, [he] hungrily sought every morsel of information concerning the south-flowing waterway about which he and Marquette must often have speculated when they dwelt together in the Jesuit house in Quebec."[85] That Jolliet knew the Indian character and also their languages he showed in 1669 at Sault Sainte-Marie. In a controversy between the Iroquois and Ottawa Indians he courageously stepped forward and by his tact prevented what threatened to become a serious feud.[86] "The influence," says Gagnon, "that so young a man knew how to exert in this situation over the mind of the savages is all the more astonishing from the fact that they saw him for the first time."[87] Had Jolliet been unacquainted with the peculiar character of the natives and unable to speak their language, he would not have attempted to interfere and much less succeeded in getting a hearing.

Hamy's reference to Marquette's moral superiority over Jolliet is rather exaggerated. Marquette was unquestionably a saintly priest and a zealous missionary. In this he shared the reputation

[84] Gagnon, p. 60.

[85] Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, p. 128. It is very improbable that Jolliet and Marquette discussed the project at Quebec. Marquette arrived there from France on September 20, 1666, and three weeks later, on October 10, he left for Three Rivers. Here he remained two years, studying the Indian language under Father Druillettes; whereupon, on October 21, 1668, he was sent to Sault Sainte-Marie. See Rochemontiex, III, 6. Jolliet left the seminary at Quebec in the spring of 1677 and shortly after departed for France, where he spent a year. The spring of 1669 found him at Sault Sainte-Marie. It was here that he made the acquaintance of Marquette and discussed the Mississippi project. See Gagnon, pp. 41-43.

[86] See Kellogg, *Early Narratives*, p. 192; *French Régime*, p. 132.

[87] Gagnon, p. 45.

with many of the other Jesuits in New France. What in the present study, however, should not be overlooked is the fact that Jolliet was a pious layman, interested not merely in the material prosperity of the French colony where he was born and reared, but likewise in the spiritual welfare of the Indians with whom his avocation since leaving the seminary brought him in contact. In his letter to Bishop de Laval, October 10, 1674, he ascribed to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin his rescue from death in the Lachine Rapids. What he regretted far more than the loss of his papers was the sad lot of his companions, especially of the Indian boy whom he was bringing to Quebec for the purpose, apparently, of having him baptized and placed in school.[88] Being an educated Catholic layman, Jolliet had the greatest respect for the priestly character of Marquette and on that account "very naturally", as Thompson points out, "deferred to him." At the same time, Marquette fully realized Jolliet's position in the enterprise and for that reason paid due deference to him as agent and representative of the government.

What Hamy urges regarding the relations that prevailed between the western Indians and the French government is not entirely correct. It may be granted that they regarded the French traders and explorers as invaders of their lands. At the same time, however, they to a great extent welcomed this invasion and the friendship resulting from trade with the French. It promised them protection against the Iroquois, whom Tracy had subdued in 1666 and whom Courcelles and Talon had kept in check ever since.

The missionary's right to the title of leader collapses completely, if one examines closely the line of reasoning pursued by those who in recent years undertook to defend it. In the passages already quoted, the argument is drawn in three instances from the narrative of the expedition. This is done either directly by stressing the fact that in the narrative Marquette is represented as leader, or indirectly by asserting that he is the author of the narrative. To this one may reply that Father Sherman's conclusion, based on the *avec moi* of the narrative, carries no weight until one establishes as certain what he together with Thwaites and Father Hamy take for granted—the authorship of the narrative, a matter that will

[88] Relation MS., p. 13.

be fully treated in the next chapter. Besides, Jolliet also left us an account of the expedition, namely his copy of the Relation of August 1, 1674, with his supplementary letter of October 10, 1674. This is not only earlier than the Recit in point of time, but in his appended letter Jolliet is just as explicit (if not more so) in assigning the leadership to himself.

The remaining arguments advanced to establish Marquette's priority may, for the sake of convenience, be grouped under two heads; *viz.,* intellectual attainments and moral influence. Herein, it is claimed, Marquette surpassed Jolliet; wherefore, to quote Thompson, "in the sense of greater influence Father Marquette was the leader of the expedition." Keeping in mind what has already been stated regarding Jolliet's qualifications, the reader will see from the following comments the utter inconclusiveness of the arguments based on these qualifications.

There is nothing in the records to suggest that Jolliet and Marquette engaged in "any dispute or conflict of authority of any kind." It was between the civil government and the Jesuits in general that the conflict of authority existed, even before, but especially after, the 1673 expedition. Neither "was any effort made by the missionary to deprive Jolliet of the glory." What occurred in this respect after the expedition, as a result of Thevenot's publication of the narrative, can not be attributed to Marquette. For this some of his confrères were responsible, after the missionary's death. Approaching directly the line of defense, we may readily concede that both the layman and the missionary were "deputed to make the journey." But the question is, by whom were they deputed? That "their names, in this connection, must always be mentioned in common," is clear; for they both had their share in the enterprise. What is not so clear, however, is the assumption that "the priest was as important to the expedition as was the civilian." From the purpose of the expedition one prefers to conclude that, as a merely scientific project undertaken primarily for commercial interests, it was something foreign to the character of a priest. Indeed, the priest accompanied the layman; but, as in all other cases of that kind, in a subsidiary position, in the capacity of chaplain and missionary. Hamy's argument, drawn from what the Indians thought concerning the leadership of the enterprise, carries no weight whatever. It is based in part

on a gratuitous assumption and, like the other arguments, is entirely beside the point at issue, shifting the question of leadership by official government appointment and responsibility to the irrelevant question of personal superiority in mental and moral attainments. That the Indians had the greatest respect for the Black Robe, that Jolliet himself saw to this and encouraged it by his example, all this can not be denied. What must be denied, however, is that this has anything to do with the question of leadership.

Thwaites, Thompson, and Spalding refer to the information gathered regarding the Mississippi. But this circumstance, too, is wholly foreign to the problem under discussion. Gathering previous information and transmitting it to the government is quite another thing from heading a project undertaken by the government to profit by this information. The argument drawn from the acquisition and transmittal of information is even weaker than the one based on the missionary's intellectual and moral superiority. Father Spalding's line of reasoning, in particular, is very confusing. Jolliet, he argues, "was to make use of the information furnished by the missionaries;" but "it was from the Jesuits that the Canadian Government received by far the greater part of the information in regard to the Mississippi;" therefore, if the premises mean anything, Marquette is the leader of the expedition. That this inference is correctly made Father Spalding indicates immediately after, when he says: "Joliet received the Island of Anticosti for his services, and history awarded the glory of the enterprise to the Jesuit missionary." But history, or rather historians, may err, as appears in the present case. In fact, if the gathering and furnishing of information has any weight in deciding the question of leadership, then the man to be considered before Marquette is Allouez. From this missionary the government received far more information concerning the great river; he was just as much interested in having it explored; and there is great probability that he had stood on the banks of the river before Jolliet and Marquette reached it. It was doubtless this indefatigable missionary whom Father Campbell had in mind when he wrote: "There were others among his [Marquette's] associates who were apparently better qualified to accompany Joliet in discovering the Great River, yet in the Providence of God they were set aside and

the youngest and most inexperienced of all was chosen for the work." [89] The choice of Marquette, as a matter of course, leaves Allouez out of consideration. But who chose Marquette or appointed him? In other words, the discussion has reverted to the point at which it commenced and upon which alone the correct answer as to leadership in the 1673 expedition must depend.

Two features in the passages quoted immediately strike one as being common to all the advocates of Marquette's right to the title. First, they all evade the real issue, defending the fair name of Marquette in matters where no honest historian has ever attempted to injure it. Secondly, they all concede that the man appointed by the government for the enterprise of 1673 was Jolliet and not Marquette. Now, this is precisely the point upon which the question turns, granting that the expedition was a governmental and not a missionary enterprise. Its leader was he who by government appointment undertook the task, directed it, and reported on it. Jolliet alone had the official appointment of the government; Marquette was appointed by his Superior to accompany Jolliet. The project itself was a matter that pertained directly and primarily to the civil authorities. The Jesuit Superior was interested in the project and therefore chose one of his subjects to take part in it. But to take the lead therein was not his intention, realizing, as he did, that such an enterprise was outside the sphere of his jurisdiction. If, on the part of the government, prospects for mission expansion came into consideration at all, it was only indirectly as a means of securing material advantages. In short, the 1673 expedition was directly and primarily a government project undertaken for the advancement of material interests. Its leader was, therefore, the man appointed by the government—Jolliet—not the man appointed by the Jesuit Superior to take part in it—Marquette.

This conclusion was reached by a number of writers since the days of Shea. Let us begin with the reply which Father Spalding's defense of Marquette elicited from the editor of the work already cited. This is the only instance where Jolliet's right to the title

[89] Campbell, Rev. Thomas J., S.J., *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642-1719* (New York, 1908), III, 167.

of leader was treated in an argumentative way. The writer, apparently Henry C. Campbell, had this to say:

> With only one object in view, and that to present the truth fairly and correctly, the Editor feels impelled to claim that to Jolliet instead of to Marquette, his companion, is due the honor of discovering the Mississippi. In considering this question, the evidence of history should be investigated carefully and impartially. To the saintly Marquette, as priest and scholar, too much credit can hardly be given.

Then briefly showing why Marquette's "memory should always be held in high regard and grateful appreciation," the writer contended that "to give him the chief credit for the discovery of the Mississippi is to give him credit which belongs to Jolliet." This statement he then substantiated by quoting Governor Frontenac and Father Dablon on Jolliet's appointment; whereupon he continued:

> Jolliet was the head of the expedition, responsible for its fate. It was successful and for its success his contemporaries, including Marquette's own superior, gave him credit. Jolliet commanded the expedition and Marquette was its chaplain. In his sphere each was equally brave, equally enterprising. To give either his due it is not necessary to take any credit from the other.

Laying particular stress on the reports made by Jolliet after the expedition, the same writer finally reached this verdict:

> Thus it is plain that Jolliet was head of the expedition of discovery and that to him the chief honor of the discovery is due. In Marquette he had a most able and loyal associate. The priest's knowledge and influence, as well as his zeal and his yearning to reach the Father of Waters, made him a fitting companion to the practical explorer who directed the expedition. Two men better suited to the work that each had to do it is difficult to imagine.[90]

A statement similar to Shea's was made by the Jesuit, Father Felix Martin, with whom Shea collaborated in his early historical researches. He wrote that "the one [Jolliet] was chosen by MM. Frontenac and Talon for this great enterprise, the other [Marquette] was associated to it by the zeal and desire to conquer

[90] *Wisconsin in Three Centuries*, I, 203-208.

new nations for Jesus Christ." [91] Three years later, in 1864, another Jesuit writer, Father Jules Tailhan, accorded the leadership to Jolliet in unmistakable terms. "Some of these historians," he wrote, "have made Father Marquette the head of the expedition to the Mississippi. This is a mistake, for Jolliet alone has a right to this title, as the contemporary testimonies of Frontenac, Father Dablon, and Father Marquette himself prove." [92] Gabriel Gravier found it remarkable that the Recit scarcely mentions Jolliet, "although he was the head of the expedition." [93] In 1878, Henry H. Hurlbut voiced his opinion in a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society on October 15. Though approving the erection of a statue on Mackinaw Island to the memory of Marquette, he regretted that the speaker on the occasion of its unveiling "deemed it expedient to ignore the fact that Louis Jolliet was at the head of the expedition wherein Father Marquette unintentionally achieved his fame." [94] Elsewhere the same writer pointed out how "an accident has left a cloud which envelopes the deserved fame of Louis Jolliet" and how deference to Marquette "has also led us to forget that Jolliet was first entitled to the laurel wreath for that exploration and discovery." [95] In his history of Illinois, John Moses came to the following conclusion:

> Marquette had no official connection with the expedition, his name not appearing either in the commission by which it was constituted nor in the governor's report of its results. He was simply Joliet's priestly *compagnon du voyage,* for which position he was well qualified by reason of his frontier experience, his devotion to his calling, and his acquaintance with Indian dialects, six of which he was able to speak. He long desired to make such a trip, and gladly availed himself of the opportunity which Joliet's invitation afforded.[96]

Later in the same work, the same writer drew attention to the

[91] *Mission du Cánada. Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1861), II, end of volume.

[92] Tailhan, p. 289.

[93] Gravier, Gabriel, *Découvertes,* p. 63.

[94] Hurlbut, Henry H., *Father Marquette at Mackinaw and Chicago* (Chicago, 1878, pamphlet), p. 4.

[95] Hurlbut, *Chicago Antiquities* (Chicago, 1881), p. 146.

[96] Moses, John, *Illinois: Historical and Statistical* (Chicago, 1889), I, 57.

fact that "for nearly two hundred years he who was merely the chaplain of the expedition received credit equal with, if not superior to, that accorded Joliet as the discoverer of the Mississippi River, while he who was its commander was left to occupy a subordinate place." [97] Edward E. Neill wrote that "at Mackinaw he [Jolliet] found Marquette, who became his companion, but had no official connection with the expedition, as erroneously mentioned by Charlevoix." [98] After briefly touching on the question, Justin Winsor felt convinced that "any conclusion must certainly leave Jolliet as the recognized official head of the expedition." [99] Like Fathers Martin and Tailhan, another Jesuit historian decided in favor of Jolliet. Speaking of the mishap in the Lachine Rapids and the consequent doubt of the government as to whether the explorers had actually reached the great river, Father Thomas J. Campbell wrote:

> It was after all, the papers of Marquette which dispelled the doubts about the success of the expedition, and thus his name, and not Joliet's, is most frequently mentioned in connection with the great discovery, though in reality Joliet was chief of the enterprise.[100]

Possibly the latest verdict rendered on the question of leadership is that of Baron de Villiers. It reads:

> Posterity has at times shown itself unjust toward the Canadian Jolliet, by reducing his rôle a little too much. He was, in name and in fact, the real head of the expedition organized by the Intendant Talon "for the discovery of the South Sea by the country of the Mascoutens and the Great River which they call Mississippi." Only, according to Father Dablon, "Talon was well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party." [101]

Far be it from us to detract anything from the glory that by

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[98] Neill, Rev. Edward E., "Discovery Along the Great Lakes" in Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist.*, IV, 178.

[99] Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 236.

[100] Campbell, Rev. Thomas J., III, 180.

[101] Villiers, Baron Marc De, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orleans, 1673-1728* (Paris, 1925), p. 19.

right of achievements belongs to Father Marquette. The six and a half years (October, 1668, to May 18, 1675) which he spent as a missionary among the aborigines of New France, manifesting a zeal and energy that gave promise of a brilliant missionary career, certainly entitle him to an honorable place in the annals of American Church history. It is only in connection with the 1673 expedition that a prominence has been accorded him which is entirely out of proportion with the part he actually played in it and which he himself would be the first to disclaim as wholly unreasonable and unhistorical. Not he, but Jolliet was the man entrusted with the first exploration of the Mississippi River. Jolliet alone was placed in charge of the details connected with the enterprise. From none other than Jolliet were reports expected concerning the purpose for which the voyage was undertaken. After carefully weighing the facts as they occurred and scrupulously balancing them against the evidence produced for the opposite opinion, one must reach the verdict that the leader of the 1673 expedition was not the priest and missionary, Father Marquette, but the official agent of the government, Louis Jolliet.

CHAPTER VI

The Narrative of the Expedition

Anyone who undertakes a critical study of the narrative of the 1673 expedition will find that writers have not been exact in stating what the narrative really is. Charlevoix, Shea, and many later historians frequently style it a journal. Thus Charlevoix speaks of the Thevenot publication of this narrative as "the journal which Marquette, Jesuit, composed,"[1] thereby creating the impression that it is a chronicle of the expedition in the form of daily entries. Shea will be found to employ the terms "narrative" and "journal" promiscuously. He informs his readers that Marquette "transmitted to his superior copies of his journal down the Mississippi." Discussing the history of what he now designates as Marquette's "narrative and map," he refers to Thevenot's "*Recueil de Voyages,* in which," he says, "the journal of Father Marquette as commonly known, appeared with a map of the Mississippi" and in which "the opening of the narrative was curtailed." Farther on he speaks of the Montreal manuscript, saying that "on the application of Mr. B. F. French to publish the narrative of Marquette, . . . the manuscript journal and map were committed to the hands of the writer of these sketches,"[2] namely Shea himself.

It was Thwaites, apparently, who for the first time distinguished properly and consistently between the narrative of the 1673 expedition and the journal or diary of Marquette's second visit (1674-1675) to the Illinois country. The former he called the Recit, it being so named in the title of the Montreal manuscript, while for the latter he employed the term Journal, because this expresses the true character of the second account.[3] It is a record of occurrences with the date prefixed to each entry; wherefore it could be called also a diary. The Recit, however, is an account of the 1673 expedition in the shape of a continuous narrative, with the events chronologically arranged but not as daily entries.

[1] Charlevoix, VI, "Liste des Auteurs."

[2] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration,* pp. lxvi, lxxiv, lxxviii.

[3] *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 59, pp. 294-299.

It is of the greatest importance to distinguish carefully between the Recit and the Journal. By confusing the two documents writers have created an impression that is false and thereby elicited a conclusion that is by no means an established fact. What is true and certain regarding the one document is anything but true and certain regarding the other. The Journal is in Marquette's handwriting and this circumstance establishes its authorship beyond the shadow of a doubt. But this is not the case with the Recit. None of the existing manuscripts of this document is in Marquette's handwriting; wherefore, aside from other reasons, its authorship may be justly doubted and consequently also tested in the crucible of historical criticism. To avoid confusion we shall, in the following study, distinguish consistently between the Journal and the Recit, reserving the latter term for the narrative of the 1673 expedition as it appears in Thevenot's *Recueil* and in the manuscript copies in Montreal and, until recently, in Paris. Again, of these manuscripts the former will be referred to as Montreal MS. and the latter as Marquette-5. Before showing why one is justified in doubting the authenticity of the Recit, why its author could not have been Marquette, and why in its present form it may be regarded as the work of Dablon—we propose to sketch the history of the Recit and to discuss the relation in which the printed and manuscript versions of it stand one to another.

It must have been shortly after interviewing Jolliet and drawing up the Relation of August 1, 1674, that the Jesuit Superior, Claude Dablon, instructed Marquette to return to the Illinois country and to send a report of the Mississippi expedition. By what means he communicated with the missionary who was then at Green Bay and what precisely he requested in the way of a written report can be gathered only from Marquette's Journal. In this, under date of October 25, 1674, the missionary wrote:

> Having been compelled to remain at St. Francis [Mission] all summer, on account of some indisposition, having been cured of it about the month of September, I awaited the arrival of our people on the return from below [Quebec], in order to know what I should do for my wintering; who brought me the orders for my voyage to the mission of the Conception among the Illinois. Having satisfied the wishes of Your Reverence for the copies of my journal concerning

> the river of Mississippi, I departed with Pierre Porteret and Jacque ——— on October 25, 1674, about noon.[4]

To these voyageurs, then, Dablon entrusted his message to Marquette, doubtless in the shape of a letter. When they left Quebec and when they reached Green Bay is not known. If Marquette understood the message correctly, he was to send his own account of the 1673 expedition. Of Jolliet's lost report or of the copies of it which Marquette had in his possession no mention seems to have been made. It may be added that, if Marquette had said distinctly, "I am sending my journal of the expedition to the Mississippi," there could be no question as to what Dablon eventually received.

It is generally understood that in 1678 Dablon transmitted a narrative of the 1673 expedition to the Jesuit Provincial in Paris. How this manuscript came into the hands of Thevenot is as much a problem as the character of the papers that Marquette sent to Quebec. If not directly from the Jesuits themselves, Thevenot may have obtained the manuscript either from Sebastian Mabre Cramoisy or from Etienne Michallet, since both were publishers employed by the Jesuits.[5] Thevenot was a scholar and diplomat. He enjoyed the favor and protection of Colbert, with whose support he founded what became known as the Academie des Sciences. His own contributions to this learned society were in the field of oriental geography and travel, for which he had collected rich material during his diplomatic activity at foreign courts. Between 1663 and 1672, he published his *Relations des divers voyages curieux*.[6]

[4] Journal of Marquette, p. 63. MS. preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, in Montreal. See also *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 164-165.

[5] Cramoisy was the regular publisher of the *Relations*. Regarding Michallet see *Journal des Savants* (Paris) for the years 1681 and 1682. Jesuit publications, noticed in this *Journal* for the years indicated, usually came from the press of Michallet, whose establishment, like that of Cramoisy, was located on rue S. Jacques, in Paris.

[6] Beginning with 1666, when the first and the second part were reprinted, Thevenot engaged the services of Sabastian Mabre Cramoisy. See Camus, Armand Gaston, *Memoire sur la collection . . . de Melchisedech Thevenot* (Paris, 1802), pp. 280-281. For a brief autobiography of Thevenot, written shortly before his death in 1692, see the *"Avertisement"* to *Bibliotheca Thevenotiana* (Paris, 1694).

A new and complete edition appeared in 1683, this time from the press of André Pralard, in Paris. Each of the four parts of this edition contains a table of contents, in which the narrative of the expedition of 1673 is listed as belonging to Part V. But for some reason or other, this Part V was never embodied in Thevenot's *Relations,* neither in the 1683 edition nor in that of 1696. Instead of this, the Mississippi narrative was made one of ten short tracts comprising a small octavo volume that left the press of Etienne Michallet in 1681 under the title *Recueil de Voyages de Mr. Thevenot.* It comprises forty-three pages and bears the title *"Découverte de quelque pays et nations de l'Amerique Septentrionale,"* while the table of contents lists it as *"Decouverte dans l'Amerique Septentrionale par le P. Marquette, Jesuite."*

The fact that the narrative bore evidence of being an eyewitness's report of an event as interesting as it was important, gave the Thevenot publication a prominence which endured till the middle of the nineteenth century. It must have caught the fancy of the general reading public, for reprints of it appeared in 1682 and in 1687. Furthermore, its significance was recognized during the rivalry that ensued after the 1673 expedition, while for a century and a half it was the only source from which historians drew information regarding the event. A few years after its appearance, in order to demonstrate the French design on the southwest, the Spanish ambassador sent a copy of Thevenot to the government authorities in Spain, whence it reached the viceroy in Mexico.[7] The Franciscan Anastase Douay had a copy of it when he accompanied the expedition of La Salle to the mouth of the Mississippi River.[8] In 1721 Charlevoix referred to it in the *Journal* of his voyage through New France.[9] Two years later the Spanish historian Barcia made mention of it,[10] though he did not list it in his extensive bibliography. In 1724 the Jesuit historian Lafitau used it for his work on the customs of the American Indian; while Charlevoix, as we have seen, gave it considerable prominence in 1744 when he published his history of New France. A German

[7] See Dunn, pp. 57, 65.

[8] See Le Clercq, II, 273.

[9] Charlevoix, VI, 20.

[10] Barcia, Don Andres Gonzales, *Ensayo Cronologico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 229.

translation of Thevenot's narrative appeared in 1689,[11] an English translation in 1698,[12] and a Dutch translation in 1727.[13] The English translation in Tonson's composite publication served John Harris in 1705 for his *Voyages and Travels,* reprints of which appeared in 1744 and 1764. Johann F. Schroeter used it in 1752 for his *General History of the Lands and Peoples of America,* which was published anonymously,[14] as Baumgarten remarks in his Preface to the work. In 1803, Clarke directed attention to "Thevenot's small collection of voyages in octavo."[15] Murray quoted it in 1829,[16] and we find Sparks using the Thevenot account for his *Father Marquette,* published in 1839.[17] Realizing the importance of Thevenot's publication, Obadiah Rich had it reissued at Paris in 1845 and five years later, in 1850, a new English translation of it appeared as Part Two of Benjamin F. French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana.* Finally, in the same year that Shea published his *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley,* a French historian based his account of the 1673 expedition on the publication of Thevenot.[18]

During all this time historians seem never to have asked themselves whether there existed a manuscript that the French publicist may have used. This is true even of Charlevoix who, being a Jesuit, must have had every opportunity to consult the archives

[11] In *Beschreibung der landschafft Lovisiana . . .* (Nurnberg, 1689, pp. 353-425), this being a translation of Hennepin's *Description de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1683).

[12] As an appendix to *A new discovery of a vast country in America . . .* (London, 1698, Tonson ed.), pp. 318-355, this being a composite of Hennepin's *Nouvelle decouverte* (Utrecht, 1697) and *Nouveau Voyage* (Utrecht, 1698), with two appendices: Jolliet's account and La Salle's voyage.

[13] Under the title *Ontdekking van eenige Landen en Volkeren in 't Noorder-gedeelte van America door P. Marquette en Joliet. Gedaan in het Yaar 1673* and published in Pieter van der Aa's *De aanmerkenswaardigste en alomberoemde zee- en landreizen* (Leyden, 1727), vol. VIII, No. 15.

[14] Schroeter, Johann F., *Allgemeine Geschichte der Laender und Voelker von Amerika* (Halle, 1752).

[15] Clarke, J. S., *The Progress of Maritime Discovery* (London, 1803), p. 151.

[16] Murray, Hugh, *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in North America* (London, 1829), p. 378.

[17] See Sparks, Jared, *Father Marquette* in *The Library of American Biography* (Boston, 1839), X, 265-299.

[18] Bourbourg, I, 151 ff.

of his order. It is certain that he made use of those of the Sulpicians at Montreal. It was not till a century after he wrote, that the manuscript was found. In 1842 the Jesuits returned to Canada and two years later received from the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu, in Quebec, a batch of old documents which Father Cazot, shortly before his death in 1800, had deposited in their archives. These documents were taken to Montreal and eventually placed in the archives of the College of St. Mary, which the Jesuits established in that city.[19] Among the papers Father Felix Martin, president of the college, found a manuscript entitled "Recit des Voyages et des Découvertes Du P. Jacques Marquette De la Compagnie de Jesus, en l'année 1673 et aux Suivantes." It comprised 78 pages, the first thirty-six and one-half pages containing the account of the 1673 expedition. The two middle leaves (4 and 5) of the second signature were missing. From what immediately preceded on page 22 it was plain that these two missing leaves had contained the description of the calumet dance. This lacuna was then supplied from Thevenot,[20] with whose text other portions of the manuscript were found to agree.[21]

In 1848, John Gilmary Shea entered the Society of Jesus at Fordham, N. Y. Two years later he was sent to Montreal, whither the novitiate was removed.[22] On learning that Shea had

[19] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxxvii. Also Martin's "Introduction," dated at Quebec, November 1, 1860, to *Relations inédites*, I, pp. xxvi-xxviii.

[20] This portion (pages 23, 23^2, 24, 24^2), written in modern hand, totals about 980 words, whereas two pages of the original manuscript have about 670 words. The surplus portion of the two missing pages may have had the text and notes of the calumet chant.

[21] Pages 36½-51 of the manuscript embody Marquette's second voyage to the Illinois country and his death. Father Allouez's experiences among the Illinois till the year 1678 take up pages 52-60. Pages 61 and 62 are blank. The following six pages, 63-68, contain, in the handwriting of Marquette, the Journal of his second voyage to the Illinois country. Then follow seven blank and unnumbered pages. What would be page 76 (were they numbered) has Marquette's endorsement to his Journal. The last two pages, also unnumbered, have a table of contents, in the handwriting of Father Martin. In this form the manuscript exists today in the archives of St. Mary's College, in Montreal, as the library stamp on the first and last pages testifies.

[22] Guilday, Rev. Peter, *John Gilmary Shea, Father of American Catholic History* (New York, 1926), p. 19.

begun to gather materials for a history of the Catholic Church in the United States, Father Martin drew his attention to these Marquette papers. About this time, Benjamin F. French applied for permission to print the documents in his *Historical Collections of Louisiana*. Father Martin and Shea, it would seem, had already collaborated in preparing them for publication. Accordingly, the manuscripts were committed to Shea when, early in the summer of 1852, he left the Jesuit Order and returned to New York.[23] That same year, both he and French published the text of the manuscript, Shea furnishing the English translation and the life sketch of Marquette. While French made it Part Four of his *Collections*, Shea published it in a volume entitled *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*. Three years later, under the direction of Shea, the manuscript was printed privately for James Lenox. Finally, in 1860 Shea included the Mississippi narrative in his regular Cramoisy Series. What manuscript he used for this edition is not known. Thwaites regards this as "a less acceptable text than the one" which he prints, namely of the Montreal MS.[24]

In 1857 Father Martin went to Europe and in the Jesuit archives in Paris and Rome found unpublished materials pertaining to the history of Canada. He returned the following year; whereupon he signed at Quebec on November 1, 1680 the "Introduction" to the *Relations inédites de la Nouvelle-France, 1672-1679*.[25] The second volume of this work contains the narrative of the 1673 expedition under the title "Récit des Voyages et Découvertes du P. Jacques Marquette de la Compagnie de Jesus."[26] In publishing this narrative Father Martin did not use the text of the manuscript which he found in Rome and which until recently existed in the archives of the Ecole de Sainte-Geneviève. Instead, he followed the text of the Montreal MS.,[27] prefacing it with the

[23] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxxviii; Guilday, pp. 28-29.

[24] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 299.

[25] This work, forming volumes I and II of *Missions du Canada*, appeared at Paris, in 1861, with Charles Douniol designated as editor; wherefore it is generally known as the "Douniol edition."

[26] It embraces pages 241-290.

[27] This becomes certain after comparing the two texts. The Sainte-Geneviève MS. will be hereafter quoted as Marquette-5. It was printed by Father Hamy in his *Au Mississippi* (pp. 224-255). He says (p. 223) that what he prints is "a faithful transcript, that is to say, one which is called diplomatic."

"*Avant-Propos*" which Shea had written in 1855 for the Lenox edition.

The next important edition of the narrative was published with an English translation by Reuben Gold Thwaites in 1900 in his critical edition of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.*[28] Thwaites, too, adhered strictly to the text of the Montreal MS., though a statement of his made in connection with this manuscript reveals the fact that he did not personally examine it.[29]

After the finding of the Recit among the manuscripts in Canada, two other manuscript copies of it were found in Europe, apparently by Father Martin during his visit in 1857. These are known today as Marquette-4 and Marquette-5. The former was unearthed in the archives of the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève, in Paris—the latter in those of the Gèsu, in Rome. Until recently, both these manuscripts were known to exist in Paris. The Roman copy, according to Martin, forms part "of the relation of the years 1677-1678" which was sent by Dablon to the Provincial in Paris, Father Pierre de Verthamont. On October 25, 1678, Dablon wrote to Father Claude Boucher who was then at Rome as representative of the French Province in the General Council of the order.[30] Referring to the Marquette papers, he said: "I have gathered as much as possible all the memoirs of the late Father Marquette concerning his discoveries; I have put them in order with all the rarities and curiosities of his voyages, and the establishment of the mission of the Illinois. I am sending to Father Ragueneau [31] this little work, which he will let you see." [32]

This letter explains why Dablon's *Relation* of 1677-1678 was found in the archives of the Gèsu in Rome and also accounts for the copy of it in the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève in Paris. This Paris copy, classed as Marquette-4, was made by Father Ragueneau before complying with Dablon's request to send the original to

[28] It appears with an English translation in volume 59, pp. 86-163.

[29] See *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 294, where he says "that MS. lacks pp. 55-63." What the MS. lacks is pages 23 and 24. Thwaites's paging is that of the 1855 Lenox edition. Hamy (p. 13) makes the same mistake.

[30] See *Relations inédites*, II, 194.

[31] He was then at Paris, according to Rochemonteix, III, 20, note 2.

[32] Dablon to Boucher, October 25, 1678, quoted by Rochemonteix, III, 21, note.

Rome. On finding it in Paris, in 1857, Martin went to Rome and there, at the Gèsu, found the original from which it had been made. This original, Marquette-5, showing corrections in Dablon's hand, he took it to Paris and placed it with the other manuscript copy in the archives of the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève. That explains why, in 1864, Father Tailhan did not specify it as a Roman manuscript.

In 1900, Henri Cordier was permitted to examine the twenty-two volumes of manuscripts preserved in the Jesuit college in Paris. Three of these volumes contained the documents relating to Marquette, among which were the two copies of the Mississippi narrative, designated as Marquette-4 and Marquette-5.[33] Of these the former was the Paris and the latter the Roman copy. Hamy tells us that the one of Paris "is a copy later than 1678, to judge from the orthography, which is not identical with that of Manuscript No. 5. This latter . . . in the *Relation de la Nouvelle-France* for the year 1678, is in the hand of Father Dablon and addressed to Rev. Father de Verthamont."[34] Furthermore, as Hamy assures us, this copy in Dablon's hand "contains, besides the portion later borrowed from Thevenot to supply the lacuna already mentioned, a paragraph which is found neither in the manuscript of Montreal nor in Thevenot."[35] If this Marquette-5 is actually in Dablon's handwriting,[36] it must needs appear strange

[33] Cordier, pp. 64-65.

[34] Hamy, p. 13. See also Sommervogel, Carlos, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, (Paris, 1890-1900, new ed.) V, 600.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223. The missing paragraph, to which Hamy refers, is most probably the one quoted by Rochemonteix (III, 26, note). This paragraph is neither in Thevenot, nor in the Montreal MS., nor in the 1855 Lenox edition of the Recit. It should be noted, however, that this missing paragraph does not pertain to the narrative of the 1673 expedition. It is merely an introduction, presumably by Dablon, to Allouez's report concerning his voyage to the Illinois country after the death of Marquette. We may add that Hamy is mistaken when he says that a manuscript of the narrative rests in the archives of Harvard College. The librarian of that institution has assured us that there is no such manuscript in the archives. Unfortunately, Hamy gives no reference as to where he obtained his information.

[36] Efforts made through correspondence by the present writer to secure photostats of these two manuscripts have proved in vain. The manuscripts

that the publishers of the *Relation inédites* in 1861 and Thwaites in the *Jesuit Relations* forty years later set it aside, preferring to follow the text of the manuscript that existed in the archives of St. Mary's College at Montreal.

It is generally assumed that Thevenot, in 1681, printed the narrative of the 1673 expedition from the original manuscript which Dablon sent to France. This so-called Marquette-5 agrees with the Montreal MS.[37] as far as arrangement of material is concerned. Although they show textual variants, these are so few and unimportant that for the present study we may safely take the Montreal MS. as the basis. From both these manuscripts, however, the Thevenot publication differs both in arrangement and in text. Whereas the manuscripts have the material divided into chapters and sections with appropriate summaries, Thevenot's publication is an unbroken narrative. Moreover, Thevenot does not print the page and a half of introduction, which Dablon wrote, and he summarizes the contents of the first section in a paragraph of ninety-four words. A collation of the text of Thevenot and of the Montreal MS. reveals the fact that between the two there are more than three hundred textual variants. Many of these, it is true, are of slight importance. But others are of such a nature as to justify serious doubt whether Thevenot really used either of the manuscripts now in existence. Of these more significant variants we select forty-five for the purpose of comparison, placing the corresponding text of Marquette-5 in footnotes.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
1	
Je m'embarquay avec le Sieur Joliet, qui avoit esté choisi pour cette entreprise, le treize May	. . . arriva Mr Jollyet auec les ordres de Mr Le Comte de Frontenac Nostre Gouverneur

could not be located either in Paris or in Rome or in Exaeten (Holland). The last official information received was to the effect that "the Jesuit archives of Paris are no longer in Paris, but in Belgium," near Brussels, presumably Ixelles. What became of the manuscripts no one seems to know.

[37] Unable to have the Marquette-5 located and photographed, we were compelled to follow the printed form in Hamy, pp. 224-255. Since Marquette-4 is admittedly "a copy later than 1678," it need not be taken into consideration. See Hamy, p. 223.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
1673, avec cinq autres François sur deux Canots d'écorce, avec un peu de bled d'Inde & quelques chair boucannées pour toute provision. (p. 1)	et de Mr Talon Nostre Intendant, pour faire auec moy cette découverte. (pp. 2-3)
2	
. . . ils le [grain] vannent aisément, . . . (p. 3)	. . . ils le [grain] vannent tres-aisément,[38] . . . (p. 5)
3	
. . . la folle avoine presque aussi bonne que le ris, . . . (p. 3)	. . . la folle auoine presque aussi delicate que le ris, . . . (p. 5)
4	
. . . n'a pas [le nom] une si mauvaise explication . . . (p. 4)	. . . n'a pas [le nom] une si mauvaise signification . . . (p. 6)
5	
J'en mis dans mon Canot pour l'examiner. (p. 6)	J'en mis dans mon Canot, pour l'examiner a loisir, pendantque nous auancions tousjour vers Maskoutens, ou nous arriuâmes le 7e de Juin.[39] (p. 8)
6	
(*lacking*)	Nous voicy rendus a Maskoutens, ce Mot en Algonquin peut signifier Nation du feu, aussi est ce le nom[40] qu'on luy a donné; . . . (p. 8)
7	
Je [Marquette] leur dis, qu'il [Jolliet] estoit envoyé de la part de Monsieur nostre Gouverneur . . . et moy de la part de Dieu . . (p. 8)	. . . il [Jolliet] leur dit qu'il [Jolliet] estoit enuoyé de la part de Monsr Nostre Gouuerneur . . . et moy de la part de Dieu . . . (p. 9)
8	
. . . qui [les eaux] vont jusqu'á Quebec, à cinq ou six cens lieuës d'icy, . . . (p. 9)	. . . qui [les eaux] uont jusqua Quebec a 4 ou 500 Lieues d'icy, . . . (p. 10)

[38] Marquette-5, has "aisément," like Thevenot. See Hamy, p. 227.

[39] Marquette-5, has "vers le 7 juin." *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[40] Marquette-5, "c'est le nom . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 230.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
9	
Sur le fond paroissent de bonnes terres, . . . (p. 10)	. . . sur le bords[41] parroissent de bonnes terres, . . . (p. 11)
10	
On y voit des noyers, des chesnes, des bois blancs, . . . (p. 10)	. . . on y voit des chesnes, des Noeiers,[42] des bois blancs, . . (p. 11)
11	
. . . avec une joye que je ne puis exprimer. (p. 10)	. . . auec une Joÿe que je ne peux pas expliquer.[43] (p. 11)
12	
En sondant nous avons trouvé dixneuf brasses d'eau, sa largeur est fort égale, elle a quelquefois trois quarts de lieuës. (p. 11)	En sondant nous auons trouvés dix brasses d'Eaux, sa Largeur est fort inegale, elle a quelquefois trois quartz de lieuës et quelquefois elle se rétressit jusqua trois arpens. (p. 12)
13	
. . ils [boeufs sauvages] ont la teste fort grosse, le front large & plat, d'un pied & demy entre les cornes, . . . (p. 12)	. . . ils [boeufs sauvages] ont la teste fort grosse, le front plat et large d'un pied demy entre les cornes . . . (p. 13)
14	
. . . ils [boeufs sauvages] sont tres-dangereux, . . . (p. 13)	. . . ils [boeufs sauvages] sont tres méchants . . . (p. 13)
15	
. . . pour préparer nostre repas, . . . (p. 13)	. . . pour preparer nos (re) pas, . . . (p. 14)
16	
. . . n'ayant aucun sujet d'apprehender . . . (p. 15)	. . . n'ayant aucun sujet de deffiance, . . . (p. 15)
17	
[pipes] bien ornées & bien empanachées . . . (p. 15)	[pipes] bien ornées et empanachees . . . (p. 15)

[41] Marquette-5, has "Sur le fonds." *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[42] Marquette-5, has "noyers," like Thevenot. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[43] Marquette-5, has "exprimer," like Thevenot. *Ibid.*, p. 232. Harrisse (*Notes*, p. 142, note) prefers this reading, "for Marquette could not have wished to say that his joy was unaccountable."

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
18	
. . . qui ne se font parmy eux que pour les amis, . . . (p. 15)	. . . qui ne se font parmy eux qu'entr' amys, . . . (p. 15)
19	
On entendoit seulement ces paroles, . . . (p. 16)	. . . on entendoit neanmoins ces paroles . . . (p. 16)
20	
Ensuite dequoy le Capitaine mit le petit Esclave prés de nous & nous fit un present, qui estoit un Calumet tout mysterieux, dont ils font plus d'estat que d'un Esclave. Il nous témoignoit par ce present l'estime qu'il faisoit de Monsieur nostre Gouverneur sur le recit que nous luy en avions fait; . . . (p. 18)	Quand jeu finy mon discour, le Capitaine se leua, et tenant la main sur la teste d'un Esclave qu'il nous vouloit donner il parla ainsi. Je te remercy Robe Noire, et toy françois s'addressant a Mr Jollyet, de ce que vous prenez tant de peine pour nous venir visiter, jamais la terre n'a esté si belle ny le soleil si Esclatant qu'aujourd' huy; Jamais nostre riviere n'a este si Calme, n'y si nette de rochers que vos canotz ont Enleuées en passant, jamais nostre petun n'a eü si bon goust, n'y nos bléds n'ont paru si beaux que Nous Les voions maintenant. Voicy mon fils que je te donne pour te faire Connoistre mon Coeur, je te prie d'auoir pitié de moy, et de toute ma Nation, C'est toy qui Connoist Le grand Genie qui nous a tous faits, C'est toy qui Luy parle et qui escoute sa parole, demande Luy qu'il me donne la vie et la santé, et vient demeurer auec nous, pour nous le faire Connoistre. Cela dit, il mit le petit Esclave proche de nous, et nous fit un second present, qui estoit un Calumet tout mysterieux, dont ils font plus d'estat que d'un Esclave; il nous témoignoit par ce present L'estime qu'il faisoit de Monsieur

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
	Nostre Gouuerneur, sur le recit que nous luy en auions fait; et pour un troisième il nous prioit de la part de toute sa Nation, de ne pas passer oultre, a cause des grands dangers où nous Exposions.[44] (pp. 17-18)
	21
(*lacking*)	. . . Comme on feroit a un petit Enfant, . . . (p. 18)
	22
Ce sont là toutes les raretez qu'ils ont. (p. 19)	Ce sont toutes les raretéz qu'ils ont. Comme elles ne sont pas bien considerables, nous ne nous En chargeames point. (p. 19)
	23
(*lacking*)	Je m'engageaÿ en mon particulier, en leur disant a Dieu[45] que je viendrois l'an prochain demeurer auec Eux pour les instruire. (p. 19)
	24
. . . de leurs coutûmes & de leurs façons de faire. (p. 20)	. . . de leurs Coustûmes et de façons de faire. (p. 19)
	25
Leur naturel est doux & traitable, . . . (p. 20)	Leur naturel est doux et traitable, nous l'auons Experimenté dans la reception qu'il nous ont faitte. (p. 20)
	26
. . . comme s'il luy presentoit de l'encens; chacun va d'abord	. . . Comme s'il luy presentoit de l'encens; *après cela celui qui*

[44] Marquette-5, has the following variants: (1) "tenant" and "venir" are omitted; (2) "decouvrir" instead of "connoistre"; (3) the words from "qui estoit" as far as "l'estime" are in brackets, and after "troisième" the word "present" is added in brackets; (4) the words "s-addressant a Mr Jollyet" are in parentheses; (5) the name is spelled "Joliet" and not "Jollyet"; similarly, it has "robbe" instead of "robe"; (6) finally, the words "esclave," "robbe noire," "enleuez," "nation," etc., are not capitalized. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[45] Marquette-5 has "adieu." *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
avec respect prendre le Calumet, & le soûtenant des deux-mains, il le fait dancer en cadence, s'accordant bien avec l'air des chansons; il luy fait faire des figures bien differentes, tantost il le fait voir à toute l'assemblée se tournant de costé & d'autre; apres cela, celuy qui doit commencer la Dance paroist au milieu de l'assemblée, & va d'abord, & tantost il le presente au Soleil, comme s'il le vouloit faire fumer, tantost il l'incline vers la terre, d'autrefois il luy étend les aisles comme pour voler, d'autres fois il l'approche de la bouche des assistants, afin qu'ils fument, le tout en cadence; & c'est comme la premiere Scene du Balet. (pp. 25-26)	*doit commencer la danse parait au milieu de l'assemblée et* va d'abord avec respect prendre le Calumet et le soutenant des deux mains, il le fait dancer en cadence, s'accordant bien avec l'air des chansons; il luy fait faire des figures bien differentes, tantost il le fait voir a toute l'assemblée se tournant de coté et d'autre; *après cela, celuy qui doit commencer la Danse paroist au milieu de l'assemblée, et va d'abord,* et tantost il le presente au Soleil, comme s'il le voulait faire fumer, tantost il l'incline vers la terra, d'autres fois il luy étend les aisles comme pour voler, d'autres fois il l'approche de la bouche des assistans, afin qu'ils fument, le tout en cadence; et c'est comme la premiere Scene du Ballet.[46] (pp. 23[2]-24)
27	
. . . une feüille . . . épaisse d'un doigt, . . . (p. 28)	. . . une feuille . . . espaisses d'un demy doigt . . . (p. 25)
28	
. . . et il y parut deux separations. (p. 28)	. . . et parurent deux separations. (p. 25)
29	
. . . en remontant cette riviere . . . (p. 30)	. . . en refoullant cette riviere . . . (p. 26)
30	
Ils élevent un échafaut qui n'est que de perches, & par conse-	Ils Eleuent un Eschaffault dont le plancher n'est fait que de

[46] The italics indicate the part transposed in the Montreal MS. This was done by Father Martin, as the handwriting between the lines shows. Thevenot's text agrees with that of Marquette-5, as far as this part is concerned. A comparison of the three texts proves that, barring the correction made by Father Martin in the Montreal MS., this latter agrees almost perfectly with Thevenot; while Marquette-5 differs in a few places from Thevenot as well as from the corrected Montreal MS.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
quent peu fermé & a jour, afin que la fumée passe au travers faisant du feu dessus & chasse ces petits animaux qui ne la peuvent souffrir. (p. 33)	perches, et par consequent est percé a jour affinque la fumée du feu qu'ils font dessous passe au travers et chasse ces petitz animaux qui ne la peuuent supporter. (p. 29)
31	
. . ce qui me parut declarer la guerre; . . . (p. 34)	. . . qui me semblait nous declarer la guerre, . . . (p. 29)
32	
Les femmes sont vestuës & coiffées comme des Hurones; . . . (p. 34)	Les femmes sont coiffées et vestuës a la façon des huronnes, . . .[47] p. 30)
33	
. . . que les Europeans avoient des Images & des Chapelets, . . . (p. 34)	. . . que ces Europeans auoient des chapeletz et des images,[48] . . . (p. 30)
34	
les ormes, les cottoniers & les bois blancs y sont admirables pour leur grosseur & hauteur: . . . (p. 35)	Les Cottoniers les ormes, et les bois blancs y sont admirables pour leur hautteur et leur grosseur. (p. 30)
35	
en effet deux jeunes hommes se jettent à l'eau (p. 36)	De fait de Jeûnes hommes se jetterent a Leau . . .[49] (p. 31)
36	
. . . apres quoy il nous donna de la sagamité, . . . (p. 37)	. . . apres quoy il nous presenta de la sagamité, . . . (p. 32)
37	
. . . ayant autour de nous les Anciens, qui estoient les plus proches apres les Guerriers . . . (p. 38)	. . . ayant autor de nous les anciens, qui estoient plus proches, apres les guerriers . . .[50] (p. 32)

[47] Marquette-5 has "Les femmes sont uestües et coiffées à la façon des Huronnes." *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[48] Marquette-5 has ". . . que ces Europeans auoient des images et des chapletz, . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[49] Marquette-5 has "De faict, deux jeunnes hommes se jettèrent a l'eau, . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[50] Marquette-5 has ". . . ayant autour de nous les anciens, qui estoient plus proches; après, les guerriers, . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Thevenot	Montreal MS.
38	
. . . ils faisoient paroistre un grand desir de nous retenir avec eux pour les pouvoir instruire. (p. 38)	. . . ils faisoient paroistre un grand desir de me retenir auec Eux pour les pouuoir instruire. (p. 33)
39	
. . . je ne pouvois venir à bout d'en prononcer aucun mot, quelque effort que je pusse faire. (p. 40)	. . . je ne pouuois venir about d'en prononcer quelques motz, quelque effort que je pusse faire.[51] (p. 34)
40	
. . . estant à la hauteur de 31 degré 40 minutes, . . . (p. 41)	. . . estant a la hauteur de 31 degrez 60 minutes, . . .[52] (p. 35)
41	
(*lacking*)	. . . nous trouvant a 33 40 minutes, . . .[53] (p. 35)
42	
. . . prisonniers; . . . (p. 41)	. . . Captifs. (p. 35)
43	
. . . une Bourgade d'Ilinois nommée Kuilka, . . . (p. 42)	. . . une bourgade d'Ilinois nommé Kaskaskia . . . (p. 36)
44	
. . . d'où nous estions partis vers le commencement du mois de Juin. (p. 43)	. . . d'ou nous Estions partis vers le Commencement de Juin. (p. 37)
45	
. . . à leur publier les mysteres de nostre Foy . . . (p. 43)	. . . a leur publier la foÿ . . . (p. 37)

That in these forty-five extracts Thevenot's text differs so widely from the two manuscripts is a problem for which no satisfactory solution has ever been offered. Shea suggested, in 1852, that "for fear of exciting the jealousy of Spain," the narrative, "when published by Thevenot, was pruned so as to say nothing of the object in view."[54] But a number of statements in Thevenot militate

[51] Marquette-5 has ". . . quelque effort que je fisse." *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[52] Marquette-5 has the same, "60 minutes." *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[53] Marquette-5 supplies in brackets "degrez." *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[54] See New York Historical Society, *Transactions* (1852), quoted by Smith, p. 307.

against this hypothesis. In the first place, the map in Thevenot extends the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Then, the narrative treats the possibility and expresses the hope of reaching the South Sea by means of the Missouri River. Finally, according to Thevenot, the Frenchmen are certain that the Mississippi River empties into the Gulf of Mexico; wherefore they conclude, as the narrative states, that by pursuing their course to the gulf they would expose themselves to the danger of falling into the hands of the Spaniards "who would without doubt have at least detained us as prisoners."[55]

Rochemonteix proposed a solution of the problem by saying "that the *Relations* of the missionaries could not be printed without the authorization of the Propaganda, and that the Government of France refused to solicit this authorization. Was it not on that account," he asks, "that Thevenot suppressed everywhere the name of Marquette, in his Relation, so as not to draw upon the Society the rigors of the Propaganda, the Relation appearing without the visé? Was it not for the same reason," he continues, "that he [Thevenot] mutilated the text in so deplorable a way?"[56] As a matter of fact, Thevenot did not suppress the name of Marquette. He mentioned it both in the preface and in the table of contents. After seeing it thus mentioned and then reading the first sentence of the narrative one could immediately infer who wrote it and who, in the course of the narrative, was speaking in the first person singular. Hence it was certainly not for the purpose of suppressing the name of Marquette that Thevenot "mutilated the text in so deplorable a way."

It may be, however, that the text of the manuscript was curtailed in order to gain space. This would explain why Thevenot ran the narrative without chapters, sections, and summaries, why he omitted the three paragraphs of Dablon's introduction, and why he epitomized the first section. Yet in some instances the text of Thevenot is found to be slightly longer than the corresponding one in the manuscripts. Furthermore, if it was to save space that he left out the notes of the calumet chant, he might have quoted the complete text of the chant[57] in the blank space on page 27. Hence

[55] Thevenot, *Recueil*, pp. 30-31, 41.

[56] Rochemonteix, III, 21, note.

[57] Thevenot quotes only the first line of the text.

on second thought it does not appear that lack of space induced him to take such liberties with the manuscript. In fact, his narrative does not leave the impression of being a condensation of a more extensive tract. To arrive at this conclusion one need but consider the character of his alterations, omissions, substitutions, and transpositions. Sometimes the alterations and omissions are puzzling, to say the least. Of those enumerated above, we note the following:

No. 5: the date when they arrived at the Mascoutens village;
No. 6: the meaning of the name Mascoutens;
No. 8: the distance from the Wisconsin portage to Quebec;
No. 12: the depth of the Mississippi;
No. 35: the number of Indians that leaped into the water;
No. 38: the person whom the Indians wished to retain;
No. 39: how much Marquette understood of what the Indians spoke;
No. 41: the fact that the explorers were at 33 degrees and 40 minutes latitude.

As a rule, Thevenot's substitutions and transpositions are quite arbitrary. From our list we cite the following:

No. 2: "aisément" for "tres-aisément";
No. 4: "explication" for "signification";
No. 9: "le fond" for "les bords";
No. 10: "des noyers, des chesnes" for "des chesnes, des Noeiers";
No. 11: "exprimer" for "expliquer";
No. 13: "le front large et plat" for "le front plat et large";
No. 14: "tres-dangereux" for "tres-méchants";
No. 15: "nostre repas" for "nos (re)pas";
No. 16: "sujet d'apprehender" for "sujet de deffiance";
No. 19: "seulement" for "neanmoins";
No. 28: "il y parut" for "parurent";
No. 29: "remontant" for "refoullant";
No. 33: "des Images & des Chapelets" for "des chapeletz et des images";
No. 36: "il nous donna" for "il nous presenta";
No. 42: "prisonniers" for "Captifs";
No. 43: "Kuilka" for "Kaskaskia."

Whatever manuscript Thevenot used when he published the narrative of the 1673 expedition, it seems to have differed textually from the manuscripts with which we have collated his text. It is hardly credible that he altered and omitted matter of such a nature as was pointed out or made such arbitrary substitutions and transpositions. One is strongly inclined to believe that he printed from a manuscript which is no longer in existence.

It would seem that Thevenot did not intend to ascribe to Marquette the authorship of the narrative which he published in 1681. This may be inferred from the manner in which he worded the title in the first edition. It reads: "Discovery in North America by Father Marquette, Jesuit." What Thevenot meant by this title was indicated in his preface to the volume. "This history of the Americans," he wrote, "should be followed by a discovery made in North America by Father Marquette, Jesuit, and Sieur Joliet, . . ." Moreover, in the second (1682) edition he entitled the narrative as "Voyage and Discovery of Father Marquette and Sieur Jolliet in North America." He would scarcely have mentioned both Marquette and Jolliet, had it been his intention to ascribe the authorship to either of the two. How, then, it may be asked, did the narrative come to be regarded as the writing of Marquette? The reply is that from the use of the first person singular in the opening sentence and thereafter in the course of the narrative the reader was led to conclude that the author was Marquette. Accordingly, in 1724, the Jesuit historian Lafitau had no misgivings on this point. After describing the calumet dance, he stated that he had taken the description from the account which Marquette had written of his voyage and "which they then had printed."[58] This printed form was unquestionably the one which Thevenot had published. Twenty years later, another Jesuit historian declared outright that the narrative had been written by Marquette. This was Charlevoix, whose history of New France appeared in 1744. In his bibliography he listed the Thevenot narrative, explaining that "this is the journal which Father Marquette, Jesuit, composed of the voyage of the Mississippi, when he discovered it with Sieur Joliet."[59] This statement of Charle-

[58] Lafitau, P. Joseph F., S.J., *Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains* (Paris, 1724), II, 315.

[59] Charlevoix, VI, "Liste des Auteurs," p. 403.

voix decided the question for all future historians. Thus in 1839 and in 1844, exactly one hundred years after Charlevoix wrote, Jared Sparks took it for granted that the author not only of the narrative but also of the map in Thevenot was Marquette.[60]

What Charlevoix had claimed so definitely in 1744 was placed beyond dispute when it became known that the narrative had been found in manuscript form among other documents which at one time belonged to the Jesuit archives in Quebec, Paris, and Rome. After examining the manuscript now resting in Montreal, Shea wrote in 1852 that "Marquette's map and voyage have indeed appeared,[61] but the narrative varies in no small degree from the authentic manuscript, and the map is not at all a copy of that still preserved, as it came from the hand of the great explorer."[62] Although the printed and the manuscript texts were found to disagree, the authenticity of the narrative itself was regarded as certain, especially after Father Martin unearthed two other manuscripts of it in Paris and Rome.[63] Thereafter, for the next seventy years, Marquette's authorship was a matter which no one seems to have doubted. At present, therefore, it is so universally accepted that any attempt to draw it in question must first be shown to rest on solid grounds.

It is reasonable to doubt the authenticity of a written document and therefore subject it to historical criticism, if the document is not in the handwriting of him to whom its authorship is ascribed. Such a procedure becomes all the more reasonable, if in regard to the handwriting statements are made that are either very ambiguous or positively erroneous. Naturally, an investigation of this kind must be limited to such statements as are made by writers who may be supposed to have enjoyed either the opportunity to examine the written document or at least the benefit of first-hand and reliable information. Of such writers, the first to be considered are Father Martin and Shea. It is true, neither of these ever claimed that the manuscripts of the narrative in question were in

[60] Sparks, *Father Marquette*, pp. 290-292; *Life of Robert Cavelier de La Salle*, (Boston, 1844), Preface.

[61] Namely, in Thevenot's *Recueil.*

[62] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, Preface. See also *ibid.*, pp. lxxiv-lxxv. Regarding the manuscript map, see *ante*, Chapter III, note 92.

[63] See his prefatory note to *Relations inédites*, II, 194.

the handwriting of Marquette. But neither did they state that they were not in his handwriting. Shea wrote as follows:

> His [Marquette's] narrative is a very small quarto, written in a very clear hand, with occasional corrections, comprising in all sixty pages.[64] Of these, thirty-seven contain his voyage down the river, and is complete except a hiatus of one leaf [65] in the chapter on the calumet; the rest are taken up with the account of his second voyage and death.[66] The last nine lines on page sixty are in the handwriting of Father Dablon and were written as late as 1678.[67] With it were found the original map in the handwriting of Father Marquette and a letter begun by him and addressed to Father Dablon containing a journal of the voyage on which he died, beginning on the 26th of October, 1674, and running down to the 6th of April.[68] The written parts of the map compared with a signature of Marquette found in a parish register at Boucherville establish the authenticity of the map and letter.[69]

When making this last statement, it would certainly have been in place to add that the first sixty pages of this manuscript are not in Marquette's handwriting. That would necessarily have raised the question of its authenticity. To all appearances, Father Martin realized this and for that reason likewise avoided all dis-

[64] This is not true. What purports to be Marquette's narrative of the 1673 expedition takes up pages 1-36½ of the Montreal MS.

[65] Two leaves were missing. One leaf, i. e., two pages, would not have been sufficient for the portion that had to be supplied. See *ante*, note 20.

[66] Another misstatement. Pages 36½-51 contain what Shea mentions, while pages 52-60 relate the voyage of Allouez to the Illinois country after Marquette's death. Moreover, this portion as also the account of his own death were evidently not written by Marquette.

[67] This statement proves conclusively that Shea and presumably also Father Martin examined the handwriting very closely.

[68] To remove all ambiguity, it should have been stated that this letter and journal were not two separate documents, but one and the same document. The letter is merely the first paragraph of the journal. From the frontispiece in Shea's *Discovery and Exploration* one is apt to conclude that Marquette, on October 25, 1674, wrote a letter distinct from the journal. But such is not the case. The facsimile letter, published in that frontispiece, is a composite made up and carefully traced from the first and last pages of the journal, together with tracings of the signatures of Marquette, Allouez and Dablon.

[69] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxxviii.

cussion as to the handwriting of the Montreal MS. In fact, when publishing this manuscript, he merely quoted what Shea wrote in his *"Avant-Propos"* to the Lenox edition of 1855, even to the extent of giving the pages of this printed Lenox edition instead of those of the manuscript itself.[70] This was certainly a strange procedure, considering the part played by Father Martin in the recovery of the manuscript.

A French writer who doubtless saw and examined the Montreal MS. is Ernest Gagnon. Although he clearly and correctly stated what is in Marquette's handwriting and what is not, he took it for granted that the narrative of the 1673 expedition was written by the missionary. After relating how the manuscript was recovered, he continues:

> This cahier to-day forms part of the Archives of the College of St. Mary, of Montreal. It contains two manuscripts, quite distinct.
>
> (a) The first, of an unknown handwriting, begins with the account of the historic voyage accomplished by Marquette, Jolliet and their companions in 1673. This account is by Marquette himself, but an introduction has been added to it and it has been divided into sections with headings. These additions are not by Father Marquette.
>
> (b) The second manuscript is in the handwriting of Father Marquette himself. It is a "letter and journal" giving some details concerning the second and laborious voyage of the good Father to the country of the Illinois (1674-1675). The journal is unfinished.[71]

About the same time that Gagnon was writing his biography of Jolliet,[72] Thwaites was engaged in editing the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* Among his collaborators for data concerning the *Relations* was the Jesuit Father Arthur Jones, rector of the College of St. Mary, in Montreal.[73] It was undoubtedly from him that Thwaites obtained information regarding the Montreal MS. of the 1673 expedition, which appeared in the fifty-ninth volume of the *Jesuit Relations.* Again, if Thwaites did not himself write

[70] See *Relations inédites,* II, 240.

[71] Gagnon, pp. 69-70.

[72] The first edition of it appeared in 1902. We quoted from the second (1913) edition.

[73] See "Final Preface" by Thwaites in *Jes. Rel.,* vol. 72, p. 11.

the bibliographical data to this volume, he was certainly responsible for the statement they contained; namely, that "Doc. CXXXVI is the account of the first voyage (1673), in Marquette's handwriting with corrections by his superior, Dablon." [74] It would seem that whoever wrote this, followed an opinion which had always been and is still largely accepted as true to fact.[75] Apparently, someone drew the attention of Thwaites to the error. For two years after the publication of the fifty-ninth volume, Thwaites wrote that, of the 1673 expedition, "the explorer's [Marquette's] original manuscript is probably not in existence"; and again that "the whereabouts of his [Marquette's] manuscript narrative of this famous (1673) voyage is unknown." [76] There is every reason to believe that this was written by Thwaites for the purpose of correcting an error which had slipped into the bibliographical data of the *Jesuit Relations* and for which he, as editor-in-chief, would be held accountable.

Years of study and research in connection with the history of Father Marquette doubtless led Father Spalding to the Jesuit archives in Montreal and to a close inspection of the manuscript under discussion. In that case, he certainly noticed the difference of handwriting in the Recit and in the Journal and came to the conclusion that the former, the narrative of the 1673 expedition, is not in the handwriting of Marquette. But even in case Father Spalding did not see and examine the manuscript, the contradictory statements in the fifty-ninth volume of the *Jesuit Relations* and in Thwaites's biography of Marquette must have roused suspicions in his mind, urged him to make inquiry, and finally elicited from him a definite statement. But what do we find? In what is presumably his latest study of Marquette,[77] Father Spalding fails to

[74] *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 293.

[75] There is evidence that he did not personally inspect the document in question or at least a photographic facsimile of it. He writes (*Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, p. 294) that "the MS. lacks pp. 55-63, a lacuna which we have supplied from the 1681 edition of Thevenot's *Recueil*." As to the pages indicated, he makes the same mistake as Hamy. See *ante*, note 29.

[76] Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, pp. 184, 215.

[77] A serial entitled "Life of James Marquette, S.J." and published in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, (Chicago), IX, 3-17, 109-133, 223-246. A prefatory note by the editor-in-chief states that these articles had been

enlighten his readers on this question of handwriting and to discuss the consequent doubt as to the authenticity of the narrative of the 1673 expedition. After relating the usual story of how the manuscripts, now in Montreal, were recovered by the Jesuits on their return to Canada in 1842, he merely quotes without further comment the inaccurate and confusing statement which Shea wrote in 1852.[78]

Is it true, then, that Gagnon and Thwaites are correct when they declare the Montreal MS. narrative of the 1673 expedition to be written in a hand other than Marquette's? Fortunately, there exists a document whereby this question can be definitely solved. That this document was written by Marquette has never been doubted. Shea admitted its authenticity as early as 1852. It is an official entry in the parish register at Boucherville, some eight miles north of Montreal. This entry reads: "I, James Marquette of the Society of Jesus have given the ceremonies to Mary, daughter of Victor Kiouentaoua and Antoinette of Miskouvunich (?), two months old and privately baptized at Saurel by Monsieur Morel, Priest, the godfather Ignatius Boucher and the godmother Mary Boucher, May 20, 1668."[79] On comparing the handwriting of this record of Baptism with that of the Journal of Marquette's second voyage and after making due allowance for the five and a half years that intervened between the writing of the two, one must necessarily come to the conclusion that the writer of the Baptismal entry was the writer also of the Journal—namely, Marquette. Now, if this is certain, then it is equally certain that Marquette did not write the narrative of the 1673 expedition as it exists in the Montreal MS. The handwriting in this document is entirely different from that in the other two. In fact, the difference is so

published by Father Spalding in the *Christian Family* (Techny, Ill.) in 1911 and that they were now being republished in the *Review* after arrangements had been made to that end with Father Spalding.

[78] Spalding, *loc. cit.*, pp. 234-235.

[79] A request made by the present writer for a photograph copy of this baptismal entry was left unheeded. About a year later, however, in the Library of Congress at Washington, he quite unexpectedly found a small volume entitled *Une veille Seigneurie Boucherville*, written by Louis Lalande and published in Montreal, 1890. In this volume, to his great satisfaction, he found on page 119 a facsimile reproduction of Marquette's baptismal entry.

great that it could not possibly have escaped the notice of Shea. For this reason, it would seem, Shea refrained from formally discussing the authenticity of the narrative and contented himself with affirming that the Journal was in Marquette's hand.

There are, as already stated, besides the Montreal MS. two others containing the narrative of the 1673 expedition. Some twenty years ago they still rested in the archives of the Ecole Sainte-Geneviève, in Paris, where they were designated as Marquette-4 and Marquette-5, under "Canada."[80] We know from Father Hamy, however, that neither of these two copies is in the handwriting of Marquette. After studying the two documents, he rejected the so-called Marquette-4 as wholly spurious and accepted the other marked Marquette-5 as the more exact account, though he admitted that it was in the handwriting of Dablon, and not in that of Marquette.[81] Besides, had either of these two copies been in Marquette's hand, steps would have been taken to obtain facsimile pages of it for reproduction in the fifty-ninth volume of the *Jesuit Relations* where the complete Journal is reproduced in facsimile. Consequently, neither in Montreal nor in Europe is there a manuscript of the narrative in the handwriting of him to whom its authorship is ascribed.

Another reason why one is justified in questioning the authenticity of this narrative is the unaccountable disappearance of what Jolliet had written concerning the expedition. It was this problem that made Father Martin ask, "Is the relation of Jolliet different from that of Marquette?" Admitting that "it is this that one does not see very clearly," he thought it "probable that, if the relation was common, they each had at least their journal, where they noted what they observed in particular. The relation of Father Marquette has come down to us," he averred, "and we will publish it among the *Relations* for the year 1678, the time when Father Dablon sent it to the provincial in Paris."[82] It will be noticed how Martin takes the existing narrative to be unquestionably Marquette's, completely ignoring the possibility of its not being such. He regards it as probably that Marquette and Jolliet

[80] See Cordier, pp. 64-65.

[81] Hamy, pp. 13, 222-223. See *ante*, notes 36 and 37.

[82] *Relations inédites*, I, 199-200, note.

had a common narrative; but whether it was this common narrative of which Jolliet lost the original and of which Marquette sent to Quebec the copies he had—these questions Martin does not discuss. Shea wrote as follows in this connection: "We have seen that he [Marquette] transmitted copies to his superior, and went to his last mission. Frontenac had promised to send a copy to the government, and in all probability he did." [83] Now, what Marquette sent to Dablon is by no means certain, while the assertion regarding Frontenac is based on a misinterpretation of the governor's letter to Colbert. What Frontenac hoped to obtain and eventually send to the government in France were copies of Jolliet's account, not of Marquette's. How Shea, who published this letter of Frontenac,[84] could twist the governor's words into a reference to Marquette's narrative is a riddle.

In 1895, Rochemonteix made the following statement: "It is probable that Jolliet also had prepared the journal of his voyage and that this journal was lost with the Relation of Father Marquette. Happily, a copy of the Relation of Father Marquette was preserved." [85] It is amusing to see how this historian accords mere probability to what is absolutely certain and presents as certain what is merely probable.

Eight years later, in 1903, Father Hamy had this to say: "There were two autographs of Father Marquette: the one lost by Jolliet, before reaching Montreal, on his return; the other written during the winter and sent to Quebec in 1674. The latter no longer exists." Again he writes:

> The necessity of writing a relation did not permit him [Marquette], however, to take a certainly well-merited rest. By the time that he had finished putting in order the notes of his journal and all the observations gathered on the route, M. Jolliet, more vigorous than his companion,[86] set out for Quebec, where the governor-general, M. de Frontenac, was waiting for news concerning the result of the enterprise. Despite his efforts, the official delegate, surprised at Mackinac by the first snowfalls, saw himself compelled to spend the

[83] Shea, *Discovery and Exploration*, p. lxxiv.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii.

[85] Rochemonteix, III, 22, note 1.

[86] Here Hamy is speaking presumably of Marquette.

> winter at Sault Sainte-Marie and did not set out again till spring. . . .
>
> In this rapid voyage, by force of oars, on lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie and on the St. Lawrence, Louis Joliet came near losing his life in the rapids of St. Louis, near Montreal. The journal of Father Marquette was destroyed in this accident, but Jolliet recomposed the account from memory and nothing in it contradicts the observations of his companion.[87]

That Marquette made two copies of his narrative, that one of these was lost by Jolliet, and that the other was sent to Quebec in 1674 are gratuitous assumptions. Furthermore, as may be gathered from the differences pointed out in chapter III, it is not true that nothing in the account reconstructed from memory contradicts the supposed narrative of Marquette.

What, then, it will be asked, are the real facts as far as documentary evidence reveals them? In the first place, as Thevenot's title of the narrative, so also that set up by Dablon does not decide the question of authorship. Dablon's title reads: "Narrative of the Voyages and Discoveries of Father James Marquette of the Society of Jesus in the year 1673 and the following." Here the phrase "of Father James Marquette" obviously modifies "Voyages and Discoveries" and not "Narrative." Had the Jesuit Superior said "Narrative . . . written by . . . ," there could be no question as to whom he ascribed the authorship.

Far more significant, however, than the wording of this title is the fact that neither Dablon nor Jolliet ever spoke of a narrative as having been written by Marquette. In the Relation of August 1, 1674, where Dablon made three distinct allusions to the narrative of the expedition, he said it would not be possible for him "to give this year all the satisfaction that one could hope for from so important a discovery." And why not? Because, as he says, "the Sieur Joliet, who was bringing us the account of it with a very exact chart of those new countries, lost it in the shipwreck . . . near Montreal." Still, he was in a position to promise that "next year we will give a full account, Father Marquette having kept a copy of that one which has been lost." [88]

[87] Hamy, pp. 13, 155.

[88] Relation MS., p. 7. We follow the text of the Relation as preserved in the handwriting of Jolliet. The Margry text, different in reading

On October 24, 1674, Dablon wrote to the Provincial in Paris. As Father Martin observes, this was a private letter, not intended for publication.[89] This circumstance makes it all the more significant that, when speaking of Marquette and the 1673 expedition, Dablon says nothing whatever about a narrative that the missionary had written of the enterprise. Why did he not state plainly that the narrative, of which he had spoken so indefinitely ten weeks before, on August 1, had been written by Marquette?[90] The same is true of the letter which on October 25, 1674, he wrote in Latin to the Superior General in Rome. Here he refers to the narrative as having been "replete with remarkable things and of no small importance. But," he explains, "the one who was bringing it, having wrecked the bark canoe near Montreal, lost whatever papers he had. Another copy of the same account I expect next year from Father Marquette who remained with the Ottawas. . . ."[91]

If, previous to the departure of the expedition, Dablon had instructed the missionary to write an account of it, he would assuredly have indicated in some way that it was this one which he hoped to get, and not a copy of the one which Jolliet had lost. Again, if he had been under the impression that the one which Jolliet had lost was Marquette's, why did he not say so? In fact, why did he wait till 1678, three years after Marquette's death, before referring to any papers written by the missionary? Jolliet, too, would have made mention of Marquette's narrative, if it had been among the papers which he lost in the Lachine rapids. But the only reports that he and the Jesuit Superior spoke of as being still available were the copies which Marquette had in his possession. Furthermore, Jolliet was very precise in stating what papers he had lost.

and arrangement, is embodied in the *Jesuit Relations*, volume 58, pp. 91-109. Presumably, the Jesuit archives of the École Sainte-Geneviève housed a copy of the Relation in the handwriting of Dablon. Of this we are not sure, however, not having been able to locate and secure a photostat of it. But to judge from the Douniol edition of the *Relation inédites* (I, 193-204), the Sainte Geneviève copy agrees with the Jolliet MS. as far as arrangement is concerned. In places the text differs, however, doubtless because Father Martin took liberties when he edited this document. See Cordier, p. 63.

[89] *Relations inédites*, II, 2.

[90] For the letter of October 24, 1674, see *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 59, pp. 64-83.

[91] The quoted portion of this letter is in Rochemonteix, III, 11, note.

In the letter to Bishop de Laval, dated October 10, 1674, and subjoined to the Relation of August 1, he wrote: "On returning, being about to disembark at Montreal, my canoe upset and I lost two men and my strong box wherein were all the papers and my journal with some rarities of those so distant countries."[92] By "the papers" Jolliet doubtless had reference to the map which he had constructed during the winter at Green Bay and to the notes which he had taken, from the day he left Marquette at Green Bay to the eve of his mishap in the Lachine rapids. Thwaites writes: "Joliet appears to have prepared other papers of importance concerning the expedition—but exactly what they were we shall never know. No doubt he entertained himself with trips to outlying villages,[93] with fur-traders, or accompanying the missionaries, who were ever on the move."[94] What Jolliet meant when he spoke of "my journal" is clear. It was an account of the expedition, the main topic discussed by him on August 1. When reading Jolliet's statement in its context, one is inclined to conclude that he made so definite a reference to his own journal in order to obviate any misunderstanding as to who had written the report which he had lost.

There is only one instance where Dablon presumably alluded to a narrative written by Marquette. On October 25, 1674, Marquette wrote: "Having satisfied the wishes of Your Reverence for copies of my journal, I departed . . ."[95] Did the missionary understand his Superior correctly? If so, the latter told him to send his own journal, not Jolliet's. Did Dablon inform the missionary of Jolliet's mishap and of the loss he sustained? The silence of Marquette on this point is very remarkable, considering the fact that it was an occurrence in which he was personally interested, especially if it was his (Marquette's) journal that Jolliet lost. The problem becomes still more perplexing if we recall that Dablon on no other occasion before 1678 ever spoke of a narrative by Marquette and that he promised to get, of the lost narrative, the copies which

[92] Relation MS., p. 13.

[93] We take it that, after accompanying Marquette back to St. Francis Mission, he returned to the head of Green Bay and made further explorations. See *ante*, pp. 167-169.

[94] Thwaites, *Father Marquette*, p. 213.

[95] Marquette's Journal, Montreal MS., p. 63.

Marquette was keeping. Did he ever get these copies? This question could be answered, if Marquette had been clear and precise in stating what sort of papers he was transmitting to his Superior. Had he said, "I am sending to Your Reverence my journal," then there could be no doubt as to what Dablon eventually received. But Marquette's statement is very ambiguous and, under the existing circumstances, it is certainly fair to point out this ambiguity.

This much then is certain: Jolliet had written a narrative of the 1673 expedition; the original of it was lost in the Lachine rapids; copies of this original were in the keeping of Marquette; Dablon promised to get these copies. Here all certainty ceases. What extends beyond this point is problematical, the first question being: Did these copies eventually reach Dablon? If they did, what has become of them?

An attempt has been made to answer this last question by referring to the fire that occurred at the Mission of Sault Sainte-Marie in the spring of 1674. "A strange fatality," writes Kellogg, "seems to have attended the records of Jolliet. Hardly had he left the Sault, when the mission house and all its contents were burned. Thus the second version of his journal perished by fire, as had the first by water."[96] This theory could be accepted as most probably correct, if it were certain that Jolliet stopped at Sault Sainte-Marie, that he left the copies there, and that the fire occurred after he departed. But it is more probable and therefore more generally assumed that Jolliet returned to Quebec over the Great Lakes route, not over that of the Ottawa River. Nor is there any reason to suppose that, on reaching Marquette's mission of St. Ignace, he first proceeded north to the Sault. One prefers to think that, having stopped for a day or so at St. Ignace, he crossed the strait and from what is now the town of Mackinaw continued southward along the shores of Lake Huron. It is true, Frontenac informed Colbert on November 11, 1674, that Jolliet "had left at Lake Superior, at Sault Sainte-Marie, with the Fathers, copies of his journals."[97] It is very probable, however, that in this matter as in another[98] Frontenac misunderstood Jolliet when the latter told

[96] Kellogg, *French Régime*, p. 198.

[97] Frontenac to Colbert, November 11, 1674, in Margry, I, 258.

[98] From the explorer's report the governor concluded that a vessel built

him in a general way of his having left copies of the lost papers with the Jesuits. Without inquiring precisely at which of the Ottawa missions they had been left and knowing that Sault Sainte-Marie was the center of these missions, Frontenac very naturally presumed that it was here where Jolliet had left them. At all events, against the statement of Frontenac are those of Dablon and Jolliet. The Jesuit Superior declared that the copies had been left with Marquette. If this statement was wrong, that is, if the copies had been left at the Sault, Jolliet would undoubtedly have corrected the error when he transcribed Dablon's Relation and sent it with a supplementary letter of his own to Bishop de Laval. So the copies of Jolliet's lost papers were in the hands of Marquette. Now, Marquette was at Green Bay. Here his own illness as also the plan of his Superior for the Illinois mission compelled him to remain. Nor is there the slightest indication in the *Jesuit Relations* that he at any time between the end of September, 1673, and October 25, 1674, went to Sault Sainte-Marie. From the documentary evidence it is certain, then, that the copies of which Dablon and Jolliet spoke were in the hands of Marquette at Green Bay. What has become of them?

The disappearance of these copies and the non-existence of any manuscript of the narrative in Marquette's handwriting fully justify an inquiry into the real authorship of the narrative as we have it to-day in Thevenot's *Recueil* and in the manuscripts of Montreal and Paris. After pointing out the reasons that more or less strongly militate against its reputed authorship, we shall endeavor to show who actually wrote it and whence he obtained the subject matter which it now embodies.

We have seen that the 1673 expedition was primarily a government undertaking and that the man placed in charge of it was Jolliet. Of this fact Marquette was doubtless aware and for that reason also disposed to regard his own position in the enterprise as subsidiary to that of Jolliet. He would not have represented

on Lake Erie could reach the Gulf of Mexico in ten days. See his letter to Colbert in Margry, I, 258. "It seems clear," writes Winsor, "that Frontenac had not quite understood what Jolliet had communicated, or that the explorer's enthusiasm had spirited away the obstructions at Chicago." See *Cartier to Frontenac*, p. 247.

the expedition as having been entrusted to himself or ascribed to himself that prominence in it which the narrative accords him. Hence it is inconceivable that he should have written: "Monsieur Jollyet arrived with orders . . . to accomplish with me this discovery."[99] Neither would Marquette have been so insistent on stressing his own share in the enterprise as is done throughout the narrative. To quote a particular instance, he scarcely wrote: "No sooner had we arrived than we assembled the elders, Mr. Jollyet and I."[100] Among the Peouarea Indians an incident occurred that tended to show whom the natives regarded as the leader of the Frenchmen. Their chief gave the visitors a boy of the tribe in token of his allegiance to the French.[101] It would seem from the narrative that the child was presented to Marquette; at least, the issue is there obscured. Jolliet, on the contrary, said expressly that the present had been made to him and he plainly showed it by having the boy accompany him to Quebec.[102] Consequently, in whatever way one interprets the narrative at this point, it was not written by Marquette who not only knew what actually occurred but doubtless also recorded it in keeping with what is now certain from Jolliet's statement.

When reading in the narrative: "I thanked them for this good advise which they gave me, but I told them that I could not follow it, since there was question of the salvation of souls, for which I would be delighted to give my life;" or "I replied, that I feared not death, and that I considered no happiness greater than to lose my life for the glory of Him who made us all;" or "It was necessary at first to speak by signs, because no one understood anything of the six languages which I knew;"—when reading these passages in the narrative, one is tempted by their almost boastful tone to cancel them as interpolations by an admirer of Marquette rather than admit them as declarations of the modest, saintly missionary. In short, whatever Marquette wrote concerning the expedition, it was scarcely the narrative with which he has so long been credited. As priest and missionary, whose prime motive for accom-

[99] Recit MS., p. 3.
[100] *Ibid.*, p. 9.
[101] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.
[102] Relation MS., p. 13.

panying Jolliet was the salvation of immortal souls, he is not answerable for that specific trend so manifestly injected into the narrative. In his account, if he actually composed one, he avoided the personal pronoun "I" as much as possible, using the plural form where a personal pronoun was necessary and in general representing as leader of the expedition him whom he certainly knew to be such.

As to literary style, the narrative differs in some measure from the production of Marquette which exists in his own handwriting and consequently in the form in which he wrote it. This is the Journal of his second voyage to the Illinois country.[103] Here we do not find that vagueness and ambiguity which, barring the portions pertaining to the Green Bay region, is so characteristic of the narrative. The clear and precise statements in the Journal have made it possible for the archaeologist to mark, for instance, almost the exact spot where Marquette and his two companions spent the winter of 1674-75. This can not be said of the narrative, however. Any attempt to follow the explorers down and up the Mississippi and to define accurately the place, time, and nature of their experiences will prove a hopeless task. Half the time, after they reach the mouth of the Missouri, the reader can not be sure whether the Frenchmen are on the east bank of the Mississippi or on its west bank. Not even the day on which they first sighted the great river can be known with certainty from the narrative. Neither is there any clearness as to how long they remained among the Peouarea Indians. According to the narrative, the Akansea Indians seem to have been met on the west bank of the Mississippi, whereas the accompanying map and also the manuscript map of Jolliet placed them on the east bank. Whether on the return voyage the explorers first passed by the mouth of the Illinois River in order to visit the Peouarea Indians, as had been promised, or whether these Indians had in the meantime migrated to the banks of the Illinois is another problem that the narrative fails to solve.

[103] How much of Marquette's other writings is the original text can not be established conclusively. It is known that Dablon, when preparing the *Relations* for publication, habitually altered the wording of the reports which the individual missionary transmitted to Quebec. For a specimen of his method of procedure in this respect see the *Relation* of 1672-73 in *Jes. Rel.*, vol. 57, pp. 33-313; vol. 58, pp. 19-89.

Regarding the voyage up the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the west shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay—so from July 17 to the end of September—the narrative is remarkably brief, comprising only thirty-two lines of one page. In general, while the Journal by its clearness and precision bears all the earmarks of authenticity, the narrative impresses one as the production of a writer who compiled from various notes and who was at a loss how to reconcile the conflicting data which he found in them.

Regarding the subject matter, there are five descriptions in the narrative that are quite foreign to its scope. These descriptions, which take up 275 lines or about nine pages of the manuscript, are the following: 1, the Wild Rice people; 2, Green Bay; 3, the buffaloes; 4, the Illinois Indians and their country; 5, the calumet dance. After eliminating this largely irrelevant matter, we get a narrative which is not only shorter by one-fourth its actual length, but which at the same time appears far more coherent in thought and expression. The repetition, for instance, in the opening paragraph of the seventh section of matter already stated in the last paragraph of the fifth section seems rather unnatural and would not have been necessary if the above cited descriptions 4 and 5 had not been inserted. Besides these five digressions, there are two comparisons which one would prefer not to ascribe to Marquette. As priest and religious, whose ideas ran in other channels than those of a layman, Marquette would scarcely have likened the proboscis of the fish seen in the Mississippi with "a woman's busk" and detected a similarity between the start of the calumet dance and "the first scene of the ballet."[104] Again, there are three omissions, one of which immediately strikes the reader as very extraordinary. Nowhere in the narrative is there any mention of provisions having been made for the celebration of Holy Mass or of Marquette having performed the sacred function during the voyage. It seems incredible, however, that he left all the Sundays and holy days, from May 17 to the end of September, go by without satisfying the spiritual needs and obligations both of himself and of the six laymen who were with him. Nothing prevented him from celebrating the Divine Mysteries on Pentecost Sunday, May 21, and on the feast of Corpus Christi, June 1. On these two days

[104] Recit MS., pp. 12, 24.

the explorers were in the territory of Indians who had already come in contact with the Jesuit missionaries and who perhaps had even witnessed the celebration of Holy Mass. Again, that there was no danger of profanation on the part of the Peouarea Indians seems quite apparent from the cordial reception which these Indians accorded Jolliet and Marquette when they visited them on Sunday, June 25. For the next six weeks or so, circumstances may have been less favorable. But when toward the end of August they came to the Illinois country, opportunity to celebrate Holy Mass was certainly not wanting; and, if Marquette fostered a special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, there is every reason to suppose that on September 8, the feast of her Nativity he consecrated the day by offering the August Sacrifice. It can not be objected that the missionaries were not accustomed to say Holy Mass on such expeditions and under such circumstances. To disprove this one need but refer to Marquette himself. In the Journal of his second voyage to the Illinois, besides entering this incident on seven different days, he says under date of March 30 that his illness did not prevent him from saying Holy Mass every day during the time they wintered on the Chicago River, namely from December 14 to March 30.

Another incident that the narrative fails to recount occurred somewhere near the mouth of the Ohio River. As seen in an earlier chapter, it is very probable that on August 4, Marquette wrote a letter and gave it to the Indians, hoping they would deliver it into the hands of the Europeans farther east, with whom they carried on trade. If that letter is genuine, why does the narrative not make some reference to it? The fact of having written it as also the insertion of a copy of it would have been just as interesting and certainly as pertinent as some other matter contained in the narrative.

According to the narrative, Marquette promised that if the Blessed Virgin "obtained for us the privilege of discovering the great river, I would give it the name of the Conception." [105] Now, what appears very strange is the fact that in his Journal, which he could not have written before the narrative, Marquette does not speak of the great river as the "Riviere de la Conception," but

[105] Recit MS., p. 4.

calls it by its Indian name "Mississipi."[106] Did he forget or set aside the promise he had made? Is it possible that he never made the promise in writing, but that it was put into his mouth by the one who composed the narrative? The latter hypothesis is not improbable, considering that on the manuscript map the name "Riviere de la Conception" is not, like other portions of it, written in cursive hand but in Roman capitals. It is very doubtful, therefore, whether Marquette wrote the name. At all events, the fact that in the Journal he called the great river by its Indian name instead of the one which, according to the narrative, he promised to give it seems to warrant the conclusion that this portion of the narrative was not written by him. One arrives at the same conclusion after comparing the text of the narrative with that of other manuscripts certainly not written by Marquette.

No two authors, writing independently, will express themselves in identically or almost identically the same terms. It is, therefore, a canon of historical criticism that where the text of several manuscripts are the same or nearly the same there is proof either of identity of authorship or of dependence of one author upon another. For the present purpose we let *A* represent the Relation which Dablon drew up and signed on August 1, 1674;—*B*, the letter which Jolliet inscribed on his map shortly after returning to Quebec;—and *C*, the narrative of the 1673 expedition which is usually quoted as the Recit. *A* and *B* are unquestionably of an earlier date than *C*. The assumption which is sometimes made that the narrative *C* existed in copies at the time when Dablon wrote *A* and Jolliet wrote *B* is precisely what the collation of texts will show to be untenable. In view of the above-stated principle of historical criticism, it must be conceded that, if unusually similar and even identical readings appear in the earlier manuscripts *A* and *B* and in the later manuscript *C*, the inevitable conclusion is that the author of *C* either wrote or used *A* and *B*. In other words, the narrative of the 1673 expedition was composed by one who had Dablon's Relation and Jolliet's letter to Laval in hand. In the following collation of texts we quote first the narrative or Recit and then the parallel extract from the Dablon Relation and, in one instance, Jolliet's letter to Frontenac.

[106] Marquette's Journal in the Montreal MS., p. 63.

Recit	Relation MS.
Apres 40 lieuës sur Cette mesme route, nous arrivons a l'embouchure de nostre Riviere et nous trouvant a 42 degres et demy d'elevation, nous entrons heureusement dans Mississipi Le 17e Juin avec une Joÿe que je ne peux pas expliquer. (p. 11)	. . . ayant fait quarante Lieuës vers le Suroüest, enfin le 15e Juin se trouvant a 42 degrés et demy ils entrerent heureusement dans cette fameuse Riviere que les sauvages appelent Missisipi. (p. 2)
(*translation*)	(*translation*)
After 40 leagues on this same route, we arrived at the mouth of our river and finding ourselves at 42 and a half degrees of elevation, we entered happily into the Mississippi on June 17 with a joy which I can not express.	. . . having made forty leagues toward the southwest, finally on June 15 finding themselves at 42 and a half degrees they entered happily into this famous river which the savages call Mississippi.

The close resemblance and largely identical terms of expression in these two extracts can not be explained in any other way than by assuming either that the author of the one was the author also of the other, or that the writer of the Recit used the Relation. Why the dates, June 17 and June 15, differ may be accounted for by the fact that Jolliet related the story of the expedition from memory. Eventually the papers arrived from Green Bay, so that Dablon, when preparing the *Relation* for 1678, could correct the mistake which Jolliet had made and which he copied as late as October 10, 1674, when he wrote to Bishop de Laval. We may readily presume that the bishop, on his return to Canada, let Dablon see the letter he had received from Jolliet. That would explain the similarity between the following extracts:

Recit	Relation MS.
Comme ils [les boeufs sauvages] ont les piéds gros et assez courts ils ne vont pas bien viste pour l'ordinaire, si ce n'est lorsqu' ils sont irritez. Ils sont espars dans les prairies Comme des troupeaux j'en ay veu une bande de 400. (p. 13)	Les Boeufs ou Bufles s'y voient comme, aux Iles, Partout et en quantité. J'en ay veu et compté jusques a 400 ensemble dans une prairie, mais l'ordinaire est d'en voir trente ou quarante. (p. 15)

(*translation*)

Since they [the wild oxen] have the legs thick and quite short, they do not go very fast ordinarily, unless it is when they are angry. They are scattered in the prairies like droves. I have seen a band of 400 of them.

(*translation*)

The oxen or buffaloes meet there as on the islands, everywhere and in quantity. I have seen and counted as many as 400 of them together in a prairie, but the ordinary is to see thirty or forty of them.

The three following extracts, which must be taken jointly, reveal a remarkable similarity and are in large measure even identical.

Recit

il est bon que je rapporte ce que j'ay reconnu de leurs Coustûmes et façons de faire. (p. 19)

Relation MS.

Il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston aussi bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples. (p. 4)

(*translation*)

It is proper that I report that what I have learned of their customs and usages.

(*translation*)

There would be many things to say of this baton as also of the habits and usages of these peoples.

The people referred to are the Illinois Indians. Of these the narrative contains a lengthy description, including one of the calumet and the dance enacted in its honor. One sentence in the description of the Indians bears a striking resemblance with the parallel passage in the Relation.

Recit

Leur naturel est doux et traitable, nous l'avons experimenté dans la reception qu' il nous ont faitte. (p. 20)

Relation MS.

Tous les sauvages que les [bourgades] composent paroissent d'un bon naturel. Ils sont affables et obligeans.

Nos Francais ressentirent les effets de cette civilité dès la 1er bourgade ou ils entrerent. (pp. 3-4)

(*translation*)

Their disposition is gentle and tractable, we have experienced it

(*translation*)

All the savages who compose them [the villages] seem of a

in the reception which it [they] have given us.

good disposition. They were affable and obliging.

Our Frenchmen experienced the effects of this civility at the first village where they entered.

When describing the calumet or peace pipe, the author of the narrative undoubtedly had before him the account which Jolliet gave of it. The resemblance of the two descriptions in the use of terms is too great to admit of any other interpretation.

RECIT

Il ne reste plus qu'a parler du Calumet, il n'est rien parmy eux ny de plus mysterieux n'y de plus recommandable, on ne rend pas tant d'honneur aux Couronnes et aux Sceptre des Roÿs qu' ils luy en rendent; il semble estre le dieu de la paix et de la guerre, l'Arbitre de la vie et de la mort. C'est assez de le porter sur soy et de le faire voir pour marcher en assurance au mileu des Ennemÿs, qui dans le fort du combat mettent bas les armes quand on le montre. C'est pour cela que les Ilinois m'en donnerent un pour me servir de sauvegarde parmy toutes les Nations par lesquelles je devois passer dans mon voyage. Il y a un Calumet pour la paix et un pour la guerre, qui ne sont distingués que par la Couleur des plumages dontz ils sont ornés. Le Rouge est marque de guerre, ils s'en servent encor pour terminer Leur differents, pour affermir Leurs alliances et pour parler aux Estrangers. (p. 22)

RELATION MS.

. . . car c'est lors qu'on leur fit present d'un baston de petunoir long de trois doigts, environné et façonné de divers plumages ce qui est un grand mistere parmy ces peuples, parceque c'est comme un passeport et une sauvegarde pour aller en assurance par tout sans qu'on ose en aucune façon offenser ceux qui partent ces caducéez; on n'a qu'a le montrer et l'on est assuré de la vie mesme dans le plus fort combat. Comme il y a un baston de paix il y en a aussi un de guerre, qui ne sont differents neanmoins que par la couleurs des plumes dont ils sont couverts; le Rouge estant marque de guerre, et les autres couleurs de paix. Il y auroit bien des choses a dire de ce baston aussi bien que des moeurs et des façons de faire de ces peuples. (p. 4)

(*translation*)

There remains only to speak of the Calumet, there is nothing among them more mysterious or more commendable, one does not render such honor to crowns and to scepters of kings as they render to it; it seems to be the god of peace and of war, the arbiter of life and of death. It suffices to carry it about oneself and to let it be seen in order to walk safely in the midst of enemies, who in the hottest of the combat lay down their weapons when it is shown. It is for that reason that the Ilinois gave me one in order to serve me as safeguard among all the nations through whom I had to pass in my journey. There is a calumet for peace and one for war, which are distinguished only by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned: the red is a sign of war, they make use of it also to end their disputes, to strengthen their alliances and to speak to strangers.

(*translation*)

. . . for it was then that a present was made them of a baton for smoking, three fingers long, surrounded and ornamented with divers feathers, which is a great mystery among these people, because it is a sort of a passport and safeguard in order to go safely everywhere without anyone daring in any way to attack those who carry this caduceus; one has only to show it and one is assured of life even in the hottest combat. As there is a baton of peace there is also one of war, which are different, however, only by the color of the feathers with which they are covered; the red being a sign of war, and the other colors of peace. There would be many things to say of this baton as also of the habits and usages of these peoples.

The purpose of the 1673 expedition was to determine whether the Mississippi offered passage to the South Sea. Hence it is that the solution of this problem is discussed in the manuscripts which we are considering. To the writer of the narrative the possible water route leading to the South Sea was manifestly suggested by the plan proposed in the Relation.

Recit

. . . il seroit bien advantageux de trouver celle [rivière] qui conduit a la mer du sud, vers la Californie. Et c'est comme j'ay dit ce que j'espere de rencontrer par Pekitanoui—suivant le rapport que m'en ont fait les sau-

Relation MS.

La troisieme remarque est que comme il eut esté tres souhaitable que le terme de cette decouverte eut esté la mer vermeille, qui eut donné en mesme temps entrée dans la mer du Jappon et de la Chine, aussi ne

vages, des quels j'ay appris qu'en refoullant cette riviere pendant 5 ou 6 Journées on trouve une belle prairie de 20 ou 30 Lieuës de long, il faut le traverser allant au Noroüest, elle se termine a une autre petite riviere, sur laquelle se peut s'embarquer, n'étant pas bien difficile de transporter les canotz par un si beau païs telle qu'est cette prairie. Cette 2de Riviere a son cours vers le Suroüest pendant 10 ou 15 lieuës, apres quoy elle entre dans un petit Lac, qui est la source d'une autre riviere profonde, laquelle va au couchant, où elle se jette dans la mer. (pp. 26-27)

(*translation*)

. . . it would be quite advantageous to find that [river] which leads to the sea of the south, toward California. And it is this as I have said that I hope to find by means of the Pekitanoui — according to the report which the savages have given me, from whom I have learned that by ascending this river for 5 or 6 days one finds a fine prairie 20 or 30 leagues in length, it is necessary to cross it going to the northwest, it terminates at another little river, on which one can embark, it not being very difficult to transport the canoes over so fine a country as that prairie is. This 2nd river has its course toward the southwest for 10 or 15 leagues, whereafter it enters into a small lake, which is the source of another deep river that flows to the west where it empties into the sea.

doit on pas desesperer de venir about de cette decouverte de la mer du couchant par le moyen de Missisipi: parceque remontant au noroüest par la riviere qui s'y decharge par le 38e degré comme nous avons dit, petaitre arrivera on a quelque lac qui a sa decharge vers le couchant ce que l'on cherche, et ce qui est d'autant plus à esperer que toutes ses terres sont rempliées de lacs et coupées de rivieres qui donnent de marveilleuses communiquations a ces pays des uns aux autres comme on en peut juger par la. (p. 9)

(*translation*)

The third remark is that as it would have been very desirable that the limit of this discovery had been the Vermillion Sea, which would have at the same time given entrance into the sea of Japan and of China, so one must not despair of succeeding in this discovery of the sea of the west by means of the Mississippi: because ascending to the northwest by the river which discharges there at the 38th degree, as we have said, one will perhaps arrive at some lake which discharges toward the west that what is sought and what is all the more to be hoped for as all those lands are covered with lakes and broken by rivers which afford wonderful means of communication between those countries one with another as one can judge from that.

The final clause in the Relation, "as one can judge from that," very probably refers to a map which Jolliet sketched for Dablon on a separate sheet of paper and which Dablon placed with the Relation. This sketch Jolliet may have then elaborated into the complete map which he presented to Frontenac. To the left of this map he inscribed a dedicatory letter to the governor. That he showed both the finished map and the adjoining letter to the Jesuit Superior seems likely from the fact that a passage in the narrative, pertaining to this matter, is quite similar to one in Jolliet's letter.

Recit	Jolliet's Letter
Pekitanoui est une riviere considerable qui venant d'assez loing du Costé du Noroüest, se décharge dans Missisipi, plusiueres Bourgades de sauvages sont placées le long de cette riviere, et j'espere par son moyen faire la decouverte de la me Vermeille ou de Californie. (p. 26)	Par une de ces grandes rivières qui viennent de L'Ouest et se decharge dans la Riviere Buade [Missisippi] on trouvera passage pour entrer dans la mer Vermeille.
(*translation*)	(*translation*)
Pekitanoui is a considerable river which coming quite far from the northwest, empties into the Mississippi, many villages of savages are placed along this river, and I hope by its means to achieve the discovery of the Vermillion sea or of California.	By one of these great rivers that come from the west and which empties into the River Buade [Mississippi] one will find passage to enter into the Vermillion sea.

It is worth noting that neither in Jolliet's letter nor on his map the Indian name "Pekitanoui" is given for the Missouri. The reason is because Jolliet had forgotten the name. Dablon learned it only later when the papers arrived which Marquette had sent. By the aid of these he was able to enter the name of the river into the narrative. In the description of the Akansea Indians and their country the following extracts again show that the writer of the narrative used the Relation of August 1. The extracts read:

RECIT

Il est vray qu'ils ont le bled d'inde en abondance, qu'ils sement en toutes saisons, . . . de sorte qu'ils sement trois fois l'an. . . . Ils ne voient jamais de neige chez Eux et ne Connoissent l'hyver que par les pluyes qui y tombent plus souvent qu'en Esté; . . . (p. 34)

RELATION MS.

Ce sol est si fertile qu'ils font trois fois l'année du bled, . . . et quantité d'autres [fruits] se ceüillent par tout et presque en tout temps; aussi ny conoist on l'hyver que par les pluyes. (p. 5)

(*translation*)

It is true that they have Indian corn in abundance, that they sow in all seasons, . . . so that they sow three times a year. . . . They never see snow in their country and know winter only by the rains which fall then oftener than in summer.

(*translation*)

That soil is so fertile that they raise corn three times a year, . . . and many others [fruits] are gathered everywhere, and nearly at all times; likewise, winter is known there only by the rains.

The Relation details only one reason why the Frenchmen decided to return home. Here again the dependence of the narrative on what was contained in the Relation is very evident.

RECIT

Nous fismes M. Jolliet et moy un autre Conseil, pour deliberer sur ce que nous avions a faire, si nous pousserions oultre où si nous nous contenterions de la découverte que nous avions faite. . . . Nous considerâmes de plus que nous nous Exposions a perdre le fruict de ce Voyage du quel nous ne pourrions pas donner aucune connoissance, si nous allions nous jetter entre les mains des Espagnols qui sans doubte nous auroient du moins retenus Captifs. . . . Enfin nous avions appris toutes les connoissances qu'on peut souhaiter dans cette découverte. Toutes ces raisons firent con-

RELATION MS.

Ce fut pour lors que ce pere et le S^r^ Joliet delibererent sur ce qu'ils avoient à faire, sçavoir s'il estoit expedient de passer outre ne doutant point qu'ils n'alassent se jeter entre les mains des Espagnols de la Floride s'ils avançoient davantage; qu'ils exposerions les François qui les acompagnoient a un danger evident d'y laisser la vie; qu'ils perderoient le fruit de leurs travaux et qu'ils n'en pouroient pas donner conoissance s'ils estoient arrestés prisonniers; comme bien probablement ils le seroient s'ils tomboient entre les mains de ces Europeans.

Ces raisons leurs firent pren-

clure pour le Retour, que nous declarâmes aux sauvages et pour lequel nous nous preparâmes apres un jour du repos.
(pp. 35-36)

(*translation*)
We held M. Jolliet and I another council, in order to deliberate on what we should have to do, whether we should penetrate farther or whether we should content ourselves with the discovery which we had made. . . . We considered moreover that we would expose ourselves to losing the fruit of this voyage of which we would not be able to give any information, if we were going to throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards who without doubt would have at least held us captives. . . . Finally we had learned all the information that one can desire in this discovery. All these reasons made them decide for the return, which we announced to the savages and for which we prepared ourselves after a day of rest.

dre resolution de retourner sur leurs pas apres s'estre bien informéz de tout ce qu'on peut souhaiter dans une pareille rencontre. (p. 6)

(*translation*)
It was then that this Father and the Sieur Joliet deliberated on what they should have to do, namely whether it was expedient to pass farther, not doubting that they were going to throw themselves into the hands of the Spaniards of Florida if they advanced farther; that they would expose the Frenchmen who accompanied them to evident danger of losing their life there; that they would lose the fruit of their labors and that they would not be able to give information if they were held prisoners; as they very probably would be if they fell into the hands of those Europeans.

These reasons made them form the resolution to retrace their steps after being well informed about everything that one can desire on such an occasion.

After inspecting these parallel extracts and applying the aforementioned principle of historical criticism, it must be clear to every one that manuscript *C* could not have been written independently of manuscripts *A* and *B*. In other words, whoever wrote the narrative of the 1673 expedition must have used both Dablon's Relation and Jolliet's map-letter. Now, no matter what writings of his Marquette transmitted from Green Bay in October, 1674, in composing them he certainly did not use manuscripts *A* and *B*. The supposition that these were sent to him by Dablon after his interview with Jolliet will scarcely be advanced as reasonable. Besides being a mere conjecture without the slightest foun-

dation, it would reflect unfavorably on both Dablon and Marquette, in view of the former's promise to obtain from the latter the copies of Jolliet's journal which he had in his possession. Rejecting this hypothesis as entirely untenable, we are forced to conclude that Marquette could not have written manuscript *C;* that is to say, the author of the narrative as it exists in Thevenot's *Recueil* and in the Montreal and Paris manuscripts can not be Marquette.

But who is the author, it will be asked, if it is not Marquette? This question is perfectly legitimate. The function of historical criticism is not only to tear down but also to build up. After discrediting on just grounds the truth of what has always been believed, it is in place to submit what with good reason may be regarded as at least plausible. Accordingly, we propose the following hypothesis. In its present form the narrative of the 1673 expedition is the work of the Jesuit Superior, Claude Dablon; furthermore, it is in the main Jolliet's journal, which Marquette transmitted to Quebec and which Dablon eventually recast and, in 1678, sent to Paris. For additions and substitutions he drew from various sources: first from the two manuscripts *A* and *B;* second, from Marquette's personal notes transmitted to Quebec together with Jolliet's journal; third, from what Dablon himself experienced during a visit to Green Bay in 1670; fourth, from the annual reports sent to Quebec before 1678 by the missionaries in that region. This hypothesis, however arbitrary and fictitious it may appear, helps to clear up other matters connected with the narrative, that must otherwise remain obscure. It explains, for instance, why none of the manuscripts of the narrative are in Marquette's handwriting and why the copies of Jolliet's journal have up to the present not been found. Again, it accounts for those singular features of the narrative regarding form, style and content. Furthermore, it renders more easily intelligible those two comparisons and three omissions which seem to conflict with Marquette's having written the narrative. Finally, it is quite compatible with such other portions of the narrative as could have been written by Jolliet as well as by Marquette.

The missionary at Green Bay was disconcerted when, together with the permission to return to the Illinois country, he received instructions from his Superior to send the journal he had written of the expedition to the Mississippi. He had no journal, illness

having all year prevented him from composing one. What he had, however, were the notes he had taken during the expedition as also the copies of Jolliet's journal. Eager to open a regular mission among the Illinois and realizing that it was already the middle of October, Marquette decided to send what he had. He felt sure that, considering the circumstances, his Superior would be satisfied. He would explain later and for that reason wrote in the opening paragraph of his Journal of the second voyage: "Having satisfied the wishes of Your Reverence for the copies of my journal concerning the river of Mississipi, I departed . . . on October 25, 1674, about noon."

Dablon was disappointed when he found that Marquette had not written a connected narrative of the expedition. For obvious reasons it was precisely an account by the missionary that he wanted. The need of one became all the more urgent when Frontenac began supporting La Salle and the Franciscans in their design on the Mississippi region. Accordingly, to establish a priority of claim to this new field of missionary endeavor, the Jesuit Superior drew up a narrative in the name of the missionary who with Jolliet had explored the great river in 1673. To the use of his own journal as a basis Jolliet consented, when Dablon proposed the matter to him, especially since hopes were held out to him of acquiring territorial claims in the fertile Illinois country and of settling there with twenty other Frenchmen. He did not reckon with the possibility that Dablon would compose the narrative in a way that would represent Marquette as its author and that the original copies together with Marquette's notes would be destroyed. Of this he became aware only after the narrative appeared in Thevenot's *Recueil*. That he resented both the manner in which it was composed and the destruction of his own journal would be sufficiently indicated by the rupture which seems to have occurred later in his friendly relations with the Jesuits, as was pointed out in the foregoing chapter. Due respect for the memory of Marquette, however, the news of whose death must have touched him deeply, sealed the lips of the explorer. After all, his future prosperity did not depend on his having written the narrative of the expedition which he had undertaken in 1673. As to Frontenac after his return to Canada in 1689, it was better to leave him under the impression that the copies had been destroyed in the fire at

Sault Sainte-Marie before an opportunity presented itself to transmit them to the civil authorities.

Jolliet had been appointed leader of the expedition and hence also instructed to draw up an official report. That explains why the personal element in the narrative is so conspicuous. As the official agent of the government, Jolliet quite naturally wrote in the first person singular. Consequently, much of what in the narrative is said and done apparently by Marquette was said and done actually by Jolliet. Now one can understand, too, why the narrative is frequently so vague and ambiguous. Dablon had papers before him in which the statements were not only brief and obscure but also contradictory, Jolliet's journal saying one thing and Marquette's notes another. The result of compiling a connected narrative under such conditions is obvious. Regarding the content of the narrative, there are two facts that immediately suggest themselves as the sources from which Dablon drew when writing those five more or less irrelevant descriptions. We know that Dablon himself visited the Green Bay region in 1670. More worthy of consideration is the fact that for the years 1676, 1677, and 1678, the reports of the Ottawa missionaries are decidedly shorter than the reports of other missionaries for those years.[107] What makes this still more significant is the non-existence of any of these reports in the handwriting of the missionaries who wrote them. In view of these facts, one is tempted to think that Dablon used the material in these reports for the narrative of the 1673 expedition, adding such details of his own as he remembered from his visit to Green Bay in 1670.

On the supposition that the narrative is fundamentally the journal of Jolliet, one can more easily account also for those two comparisons and three omissions. It was in reality the layman Jolliet who compared the fish's proboscis with a woman's busk and the calumet dance with the French ballet. As to the promise to name the great river in honor of the Immaculate Conception, it was an afterthought of Dablon who knew of Marquette's devotion

[107] For 1676 we have only brief extracts from letters by Allouez, André, Silvy, Pierson, and Nouvel. For 1677 the only report is Allouez's letter telling of his voyage to the Illinois country. For 1678 there is no report at all, except a general summary by Dablon on the personnel of the Ottawa missions.

to the Blessed Virgin under that invocation. Again, the proposed hypothesis explains the absence of all reference to the celebration of Holy Mass as also to the letter which Marquette wrote on August 4, near the mouth of the Ohio. Jolliet did not regard these matters as pertinent in an official report to the government. It would suffice, he thought, if the missionary mentioned them in his report. But Marquette did not make mention of them in his notes; which in turn explains Dablon's failure to enter them into the narrative.

That some of the matter recorded in the Recit was obtained from Marquette's personal notes is quite certain. It was most probably the missionary's idea of placing the expedition as also the mission to be founded among the Illinois under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Giving spiritual instruction to the Indians, promising the Illinois to return and live among them, baptizing one of their children at the point of death—these and similar incidents of a spiritual character were doubtless recorded by the missionary. There is another class of subject matter, however, that one prefers to attribute to the layman Jolliet. Because his primary interest lay on the material side of the expedition, it was more probably Jolliet who searched for salt-springs at Green Bay, who tasted the mineral waters near Fox River, who inspected the medicinal herbs in the Mascoutens village and near the mouth of the Missouri, who suggested that "the Mississippi River takes its rise in divers lakes which are in the country of the people of the north," [108] who took special note of the iron and copper mines, who repeatedly inquired about the South Sea and the distance they would have to cover before reaching it. Finally, if Marquette on different occasions assured the Indians that he was willing to risk his life for the salvation of souls, it was almost certainly Jolliet who conceded that "we disembarked [at Mitchigamea] not without fear on our part" and "passed the night among them [the Indians] with considerable anxiety." A third class of incidents, making up the greater part of the narrative, may have been recorded just as well by Jolliet as by Marquette. Such are mainly the various descriptions,

[108] It is worth noting that these lakes are actually traced on Jolliet's map as the sources of the great river.

for instance of Wisconsin and Illinois rivers, of the painted monsters on the bluffs above Alton, of the flora and fauna along the banks of the Mississippi, of the Peouarea and the Akansea Indians together with the reception which they accorded the Frenchmen.

When examining the authenticity of a document that no longer exists in the handwriting of him to whom it is attributed, the historian is not always able to state positively who its real author is. All he can do, after showing its reputed authorship to be untenable, is to offer a more or less probable theory as to its real authorship. That Marquette could not have written the narrative of the 1673 expedition as it exists to-day has been demonstrated. At the same time, however, the conclusion that it is a compilation by Dablon with Jolliet's journal as a basis remains a theory. Nevertheless, it is a theory that does not lack all foundation. Perhaps the original of Marquette's and the copies of Jolliet's account are hidden away in some private archives and will yet be brought to light. In that case, of course, the authenticity of the narrative will be definitely established and the above theory as to its real authorship completely disproved. But as it exists to-day, the narrative of the expedition of 1673 can not be accepted as the work of Marquette; while great probability must be allowed the opinion that in its present form it is in substance Jolliet's journal recast and amplified by Dablon with the aid of other sources which he had at his disposal.

SUMMARY

Having picked his way through the maze of details in the foregoing pages, the reader will doubtless welcome a summary of the conclusions arrived at concerning the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition.

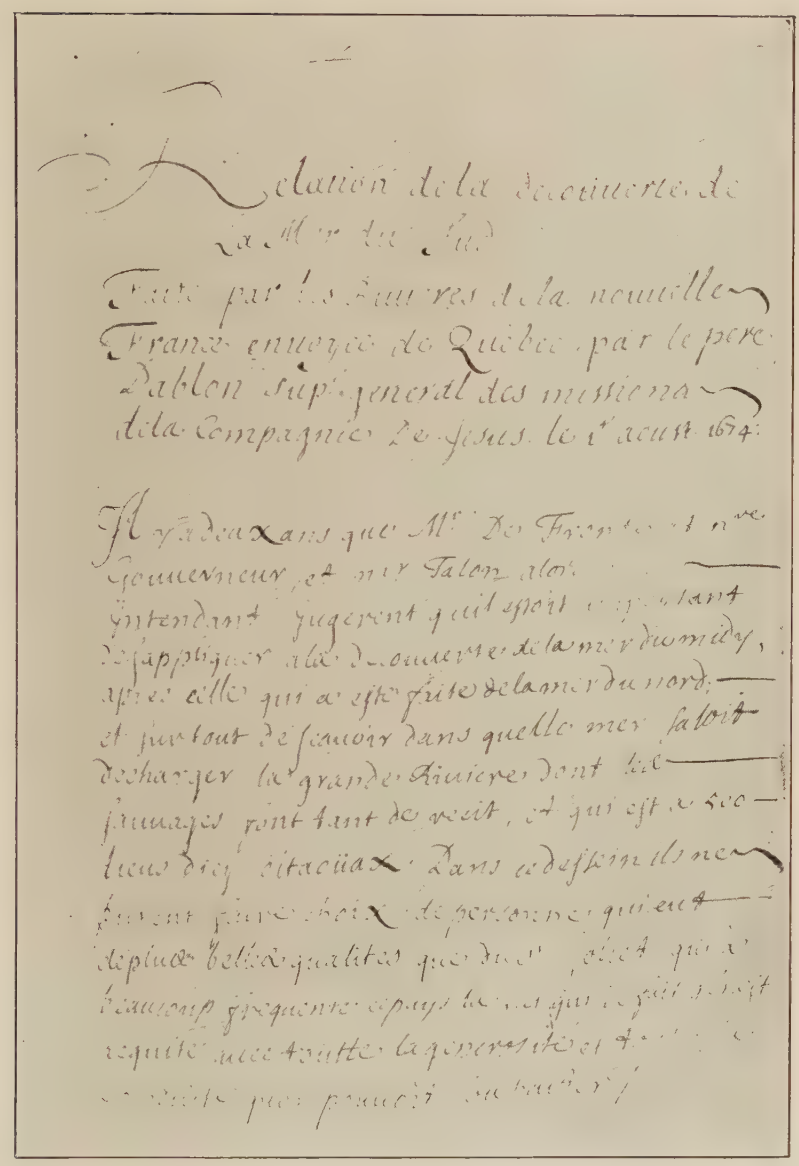
The decade preceding this important expedition formed a transition period in the history of New France. It witnessed the introduction of a new system of colonial administration by a monarch whose tenacity in asserting the divine right of kings was equalled only by his ambition to make France the dominant factor in world politics. In keeping with this domestic and foreign policy was his determination to change the French possessions on the St. Lawrence from a mission land in control of the Jesuits into a royal colony subject in all things to the crown. This radical change necessarily stirred up a conflict not only between the French and English colonies but also between the spiritual and temporal authorities in New France. The outstanding event in the French colony during this period of transition was the expedition of 1673. It was the climax of France's endeavor to extend her territorial limits and commercial interests, and at the same time it was the clearest expression of her determination to forestall in the west what had previously obtained in the east—the predominance of the spiritual over the temporal authority. Only in the light of this conflict can one appreciate the true significance of the expedition and account for the peculiar features which the story of the enterprise eventually assumed.

That the French "discovered" the Mississippi River in 1673, was not asserted until some fifty years later, when it became necessary for the French to establish a priority of claim against their English rivals. Whether in this restricted sense the enterprise of Jolliet may be called a "discovery,"[1] is not the question. Objection must be raised against the use of this term only in its absolute and unrestricted sense. Jolliet and his companions were not the first white men to see and leave a record of the Mississippi River. The Spaniards were on its banks a century and a half earlier, and the accounts of their expeditions had a decided influence on North American cartography. Furthermore, to take the term "discovery" in its absolute sense when speaking of the 1673 expedition is to set aside the laws of language and to create a false impression. Finally, by styling the French expedition a "discovery" of the Mississippi the purpose is obscured for which it was undertaken. The problem of the northern mystery interested the French in the middle seventeenth as much as it had the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century. Eager to find a waterway to the Pacific, the French hoped the great river in the west would lead them to the Gulf of California. To

ascertain where it emptied, the river had to be explored; and Jolliet was commissioned by the French government to do so. His expedition was, therefore, an exploration and not a discovery of the Mississippi River.

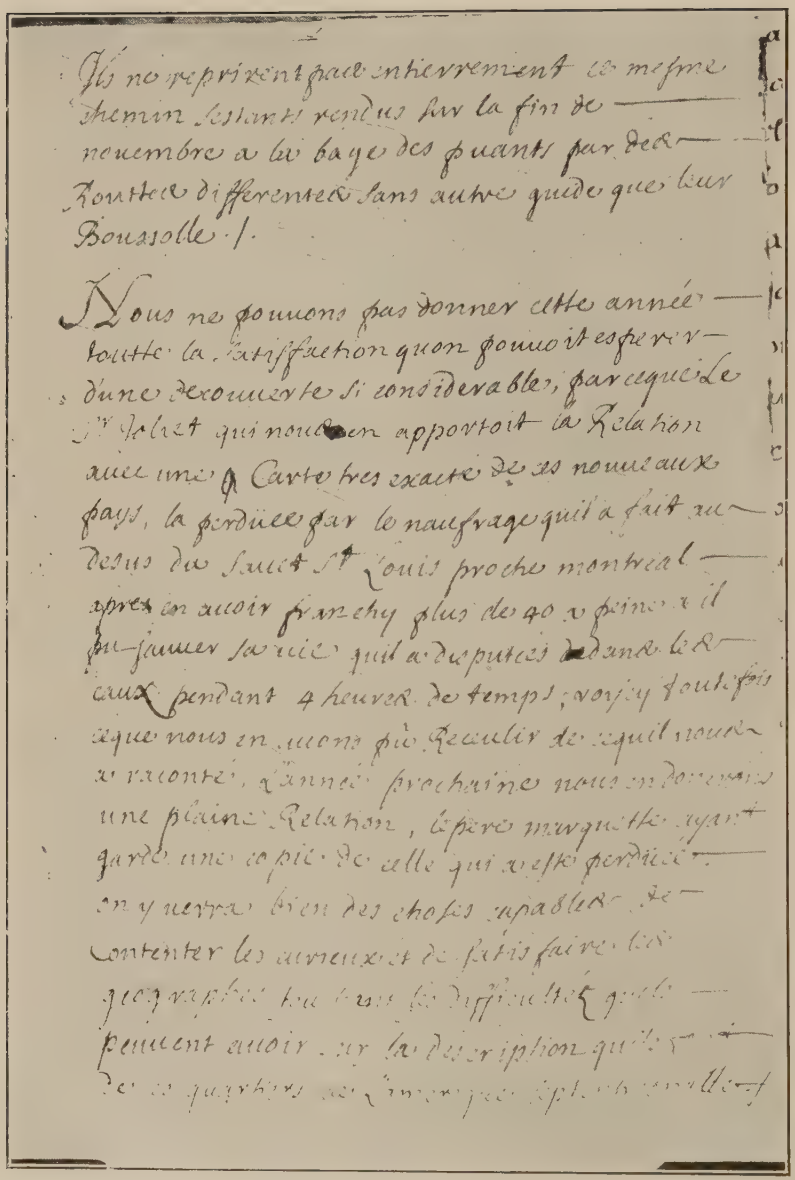
The conflict that arose in New France between the spiritual and the temporal power almost immediately after the 1673 expedition, explains in part why Marquette was represented as the leader of the enterprise. By emphasizing his share in it, the Jesuits sought to establish a priority of claim to those new regions as a field of missionary activity and thereby to secure a monopoly in the west as a compensation for the one they had lost in the east. But to represent Marquette as the leader of the expedition is a falsification of history. The position he held was an inferior one. The exploration of the river was a government project, and Jolliet was the government's official agent to whom Marquette, like the other members of the party, was wholly subordinate. That Marquette was not officially associated with the expedition, is evident from the fact that the government knew nothing of his share in it until at least eight years after. It is, therefore, derogatory to the honor of Jolliet and to the character of Marquette to represent the missionary as leader of the expedition and to assign a secondary place to him who alone was responsible for its conduct and outcome.

Nor would this misrepresentation have become so current if the narrative of the expedition which assigns the leading rôle to Marquette, had not been assumed to be his work. This assumption grew into a conviction after the manuscript of the narrative was found in Montreal and declared to be in the handwriting of the missionary. It is certain, however, that the narrative is not the work of Marquette. Aside from the fact that the Montreal MS. is not in the missionary's handwriting, the narrative itself—its general tone, its literary style, and portions of its contents—offers conclusive evidence that Marquette could not have been its author, and that consequently the Montreal MS. can not be regarded as even a copy of what he may have written. These undeniable facts together with the mysterious disappearance of the copies of Jolliet's journal, warrant the conclusion that what is preserved and treasured to-day as Marquette's narrative of the 1673 expedition is certainly not his work and lead one to believe that it is in substance the account drawn up by Jolliet and sent to Quebec by Marquette shortly before the latter's second voyage to the Illinois country.



1. *Relation*—St. Sulpice MS., p. 1

See pp. 173-180, 229, 288.

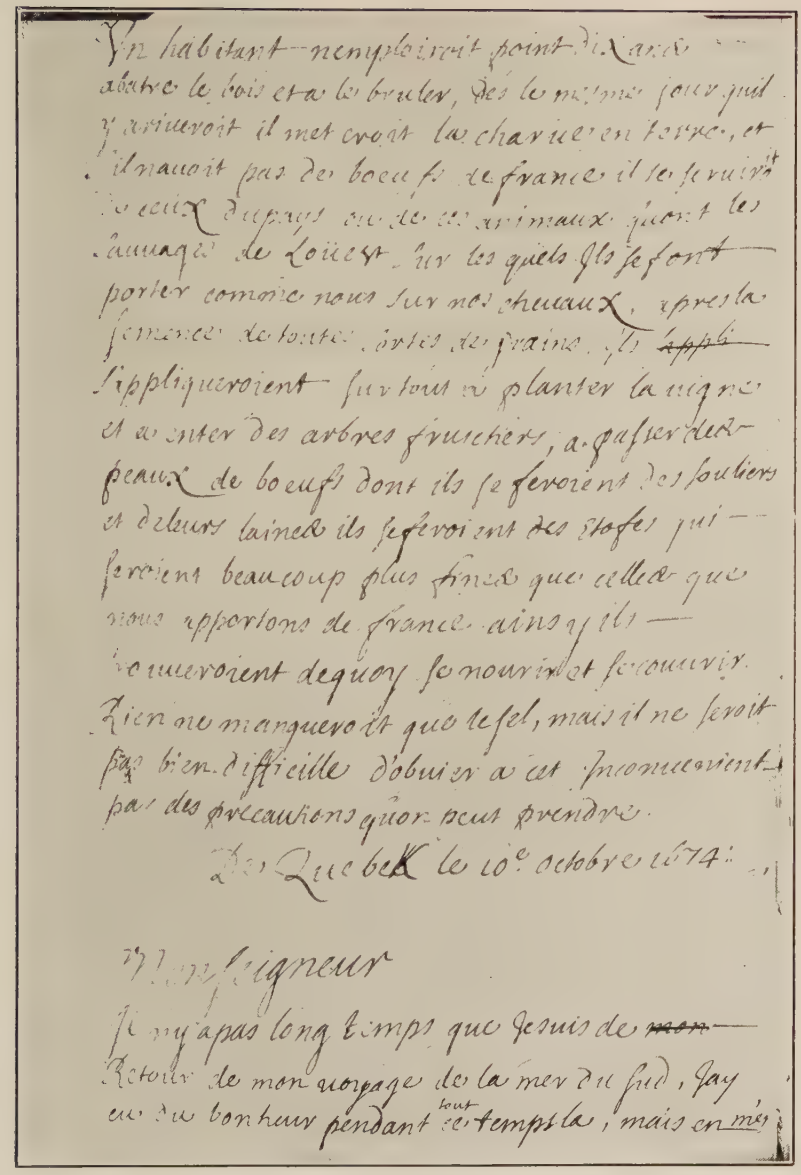


Ils ne reprirent pas entierement le mesme
chemin lestant rendus sur la fin de
novembre a la baye des puants par des
routtes differentes sans autre guide que leur
Boussolle /.

Nous ne pouuons pas donner cette année
toutte la satisfaction quon pouuoit esperer
dune descouuerte si considerable, par ce que le
S.r Jolliet qui nous en apportoit la Relation
auec une Carte tres exacte de ses nouueaux
pays, la perdüe par le naufrage quil a fait au
dessus du Sault S.t Louis proche montreal
apres en auoir franchy plus de 40 v pines il
fut sauuer sa vie quil a disputée dans les
eaux pendant 4 heures de temps; voyla toutefois
ce que nous en auons pû Recueillir de ce quil nous
a raconté, cette année prochaine nous en donnerons
une plaine Relation, le pere marquette ayant
gardé une copie de celle qui a este perdüe.
on y verra bien des choses capables de
contenter les curieux et de satisfaire les
geographes touchant la difficulté quils
peuuent auoir sur la description quils font
de ces quartiers de l'amerique septentrionalle

2. *Relation*—St. Sulpice MS., p. 7

See pp. 117, 168, 187 [152], 288.



Vn habitant n'employeroit point dix ans a abatre le bois et a le bruler, des le mesme jour qu'il y arriveroit il mettroit la charrue en terre, et s'il n'avoit pas des boeufs de france il se serviroit de ceux d'icy ou de ces animaux dont les sauvages de Loüest sur les quels ils se font porter comme nous sur nos chevaux, apres la semence de toutes sortes de graine, ils s'appliqueroient sur tout a planter la vigne et a enter des arbres fruitiers, a gaster des peaux de boeufs dont ils se feroient des souliers et de leurs laines ils se feroient des etoffes qui seroient beaucoup plus fines que celles que nous apportons de france ainsy ils se nourriroient de quoy se nourrir et se couvrir. Rien ne manqueroit que le sel, mais il ne seroit pas bien difficille d'obvier a cet inconvenient par des precautions que nous prendre.

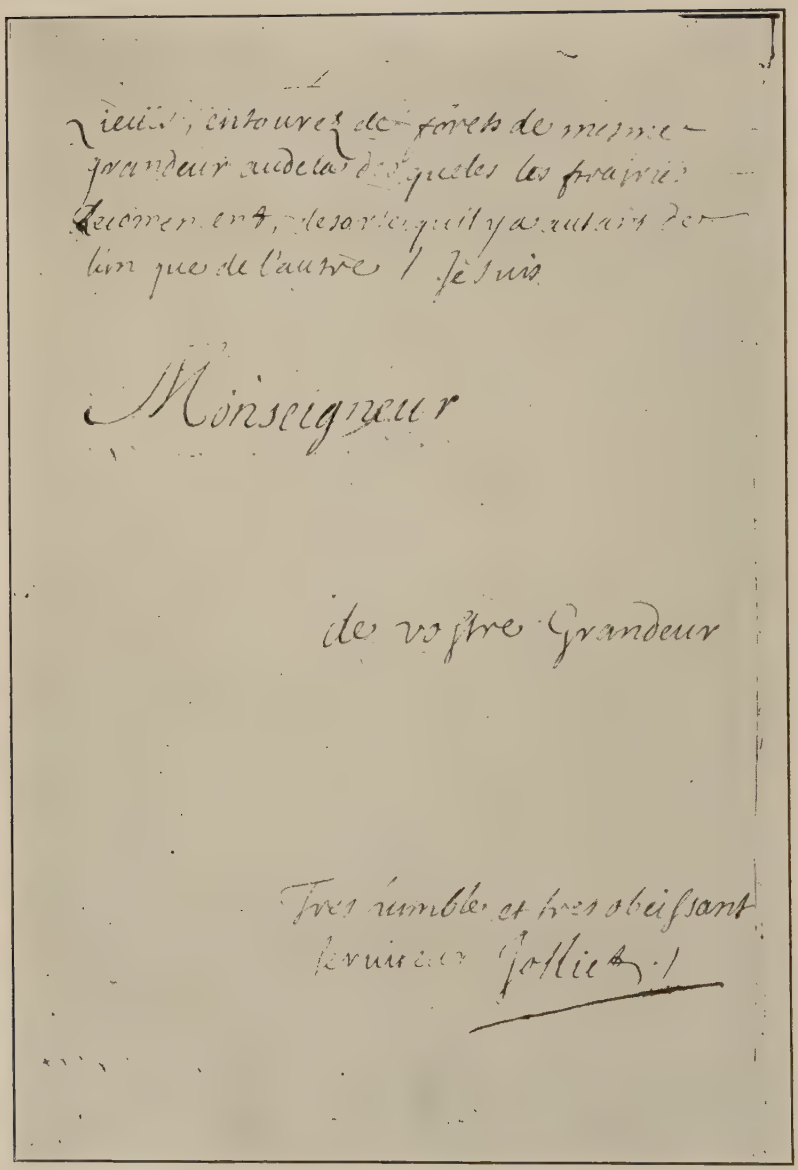
A Quebek le 10e octobre 1674.

Monseigneur

Il n'y a pas long temps que je suis de Retour de mon voyage de la mer du sud, j'ay eu du bonheur pendant tout ce temps la, mais en mes

3. *Relation*—St. Sulpice MS., p. 12

See pp. 180, 186 [149].


vieux, entourez de forets de mesme
grandeur au delà desquelles les prairies
recommencent, de sorte qu'il y a autant de
lieu par de l'autre. Je suis

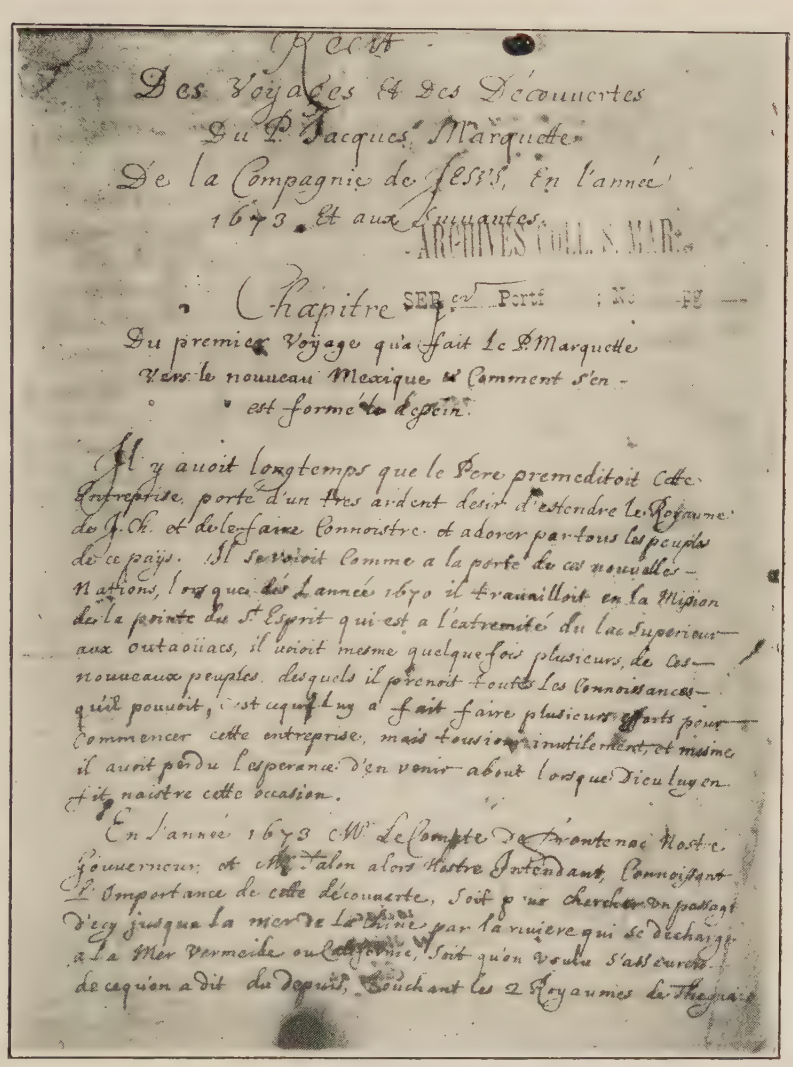
Monseigneur

de vostre Grandeur

Tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur Jollie[t]

4. *Relation*—St. Sulpice MS., p. 16

See pp. 173 [98], 174 [101], 181 [131], 182.



Recit
Des Voyages & des Découvertes
du P. Jacques Marquette
de la Compagnie de Jesus, en l'année
1673. & aux Suivantes.

ARCHIVES DOLLS. N.B.
SER. cx Portf. ; No. Pg.

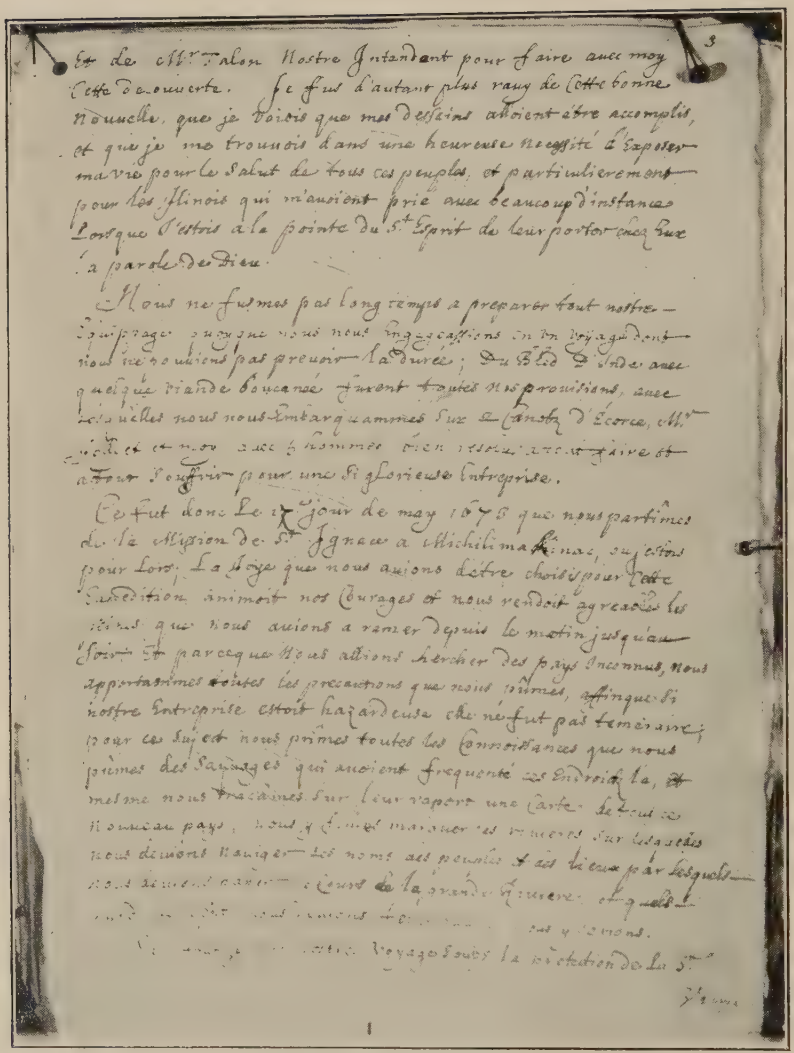
Chapitre
Du premier Voyage qu'a fait le P. Marquette
Vers le nouveau Mexique & Comment s'en
est formé le dessein.

Il y avoit longtemps que le Pere premeditoit cette
Entreprise, porté d'un tres ardent desir d'estendre le Regne
de J.Ch. et de le faire Connoistre et adorer partous les peuples
de ce pays. Il servoit Comme a la porte de ces nouvelles
Nations, lorsque dés l'année 1670 il travailloit en la Mission
de la pointe du St Esprit qui est a l'extremité du lac Superieur
aux outaouïacs, il voioit mesme quelquefois plusieurs de ces
nouveaux peuples, desquels il prenoit toutes les Connoissances
qu'il pouvoit, c'est ce qui l'y a fait faire plusieurs efforts pour
Commencer cette entreprise, mais toujours inutilement, et mesme
il avoit perdu l'esperance d'en venir about lorsque Dieu lui en
fit naistre cette occasion.

En l'année 1673 Mr le Comte de Frontenac Nostre
Gouverneur, et Mr Talon alors Nostre Intendant, Connoissant
l'importance de cette découverte, Soit pour chercher un passage
d'icy jusqua la mer de la Chine par la rivière qui se décharge
a la Mer Vermeille ou Californie, Soit qu'on veuille s'assurer
de ce qu'on a dit du depuis, touchant les 2 Royaumes de Theguaio

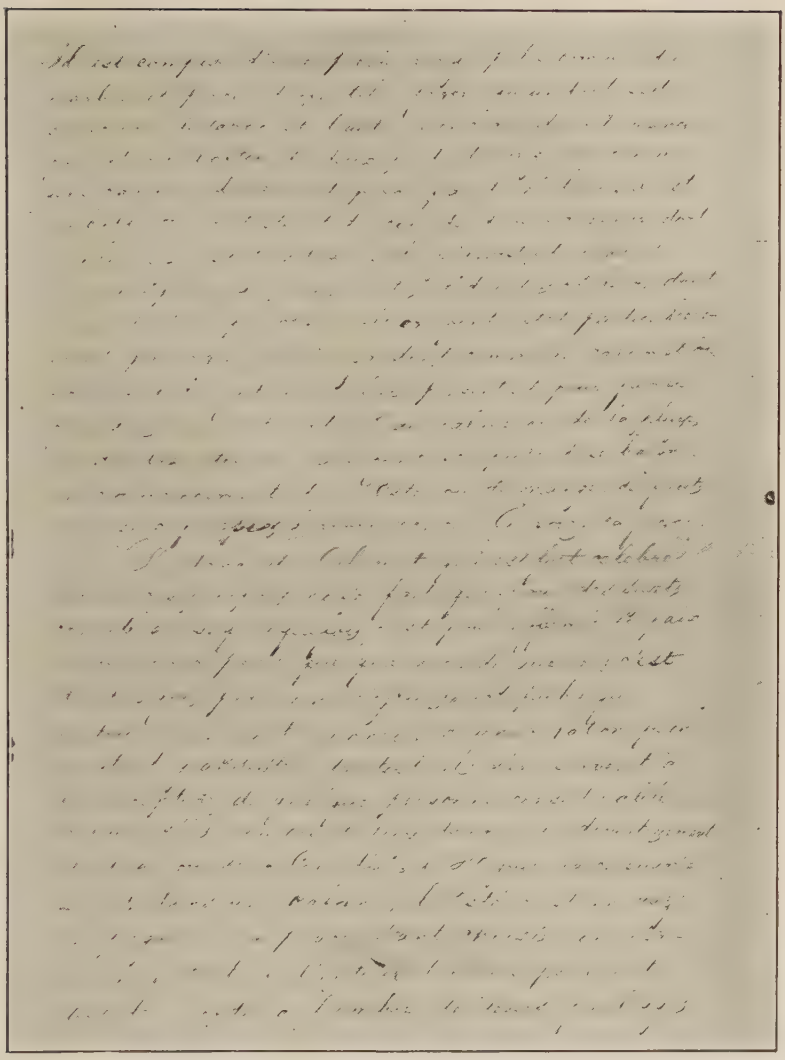
5. *Recit*—Montreal MS., p. 1

See pp. 148 [21], 261-262, 266, 282.



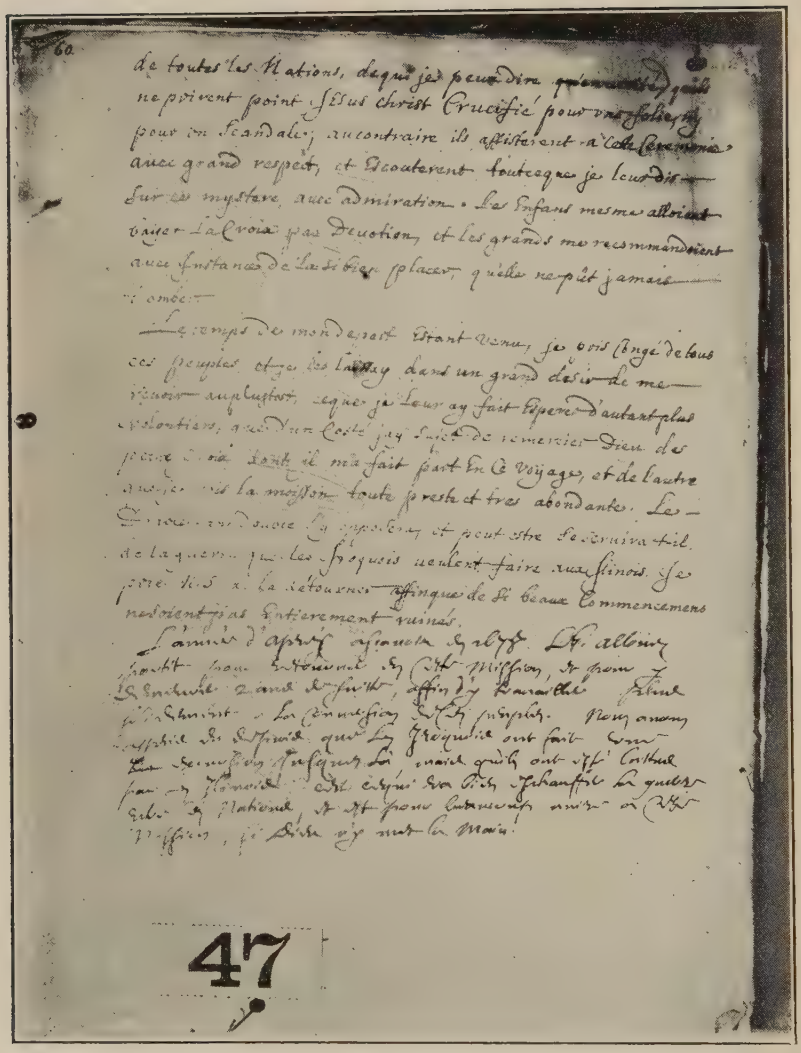
6. *Recit*—Montreal MS., p. 3

See pp. 151 [29], 174 [104], 245, 253, 271, 288, 293.



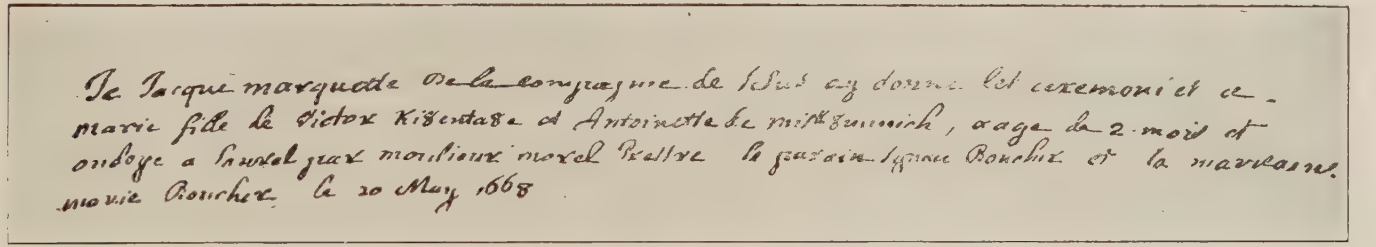
7. *Recit*—Montreal MS., p. 23

See pp. 266 [20], 268 [29], 284 [75].



8. *Recit*—Montreal MS., p. 60

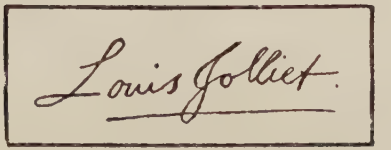
See pp. 263, 266 [21].



Je Jacque marquette de la compagnie de Jesus ay donné cet ceremoni et a marrié fille de Victor Kibentase et Antoinette de mitzemmich, a age de 2 mois et onboye a sault jeux monsieur morel Prestre la parroisse Ignace Bouchet et la marreine marie Boucher le 20 May 1668

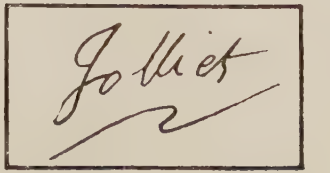
9. Entry of Baptism by Marquette, May 20, 1668

See pp 285-286.



Louis Jolliet.

October 1, 1675

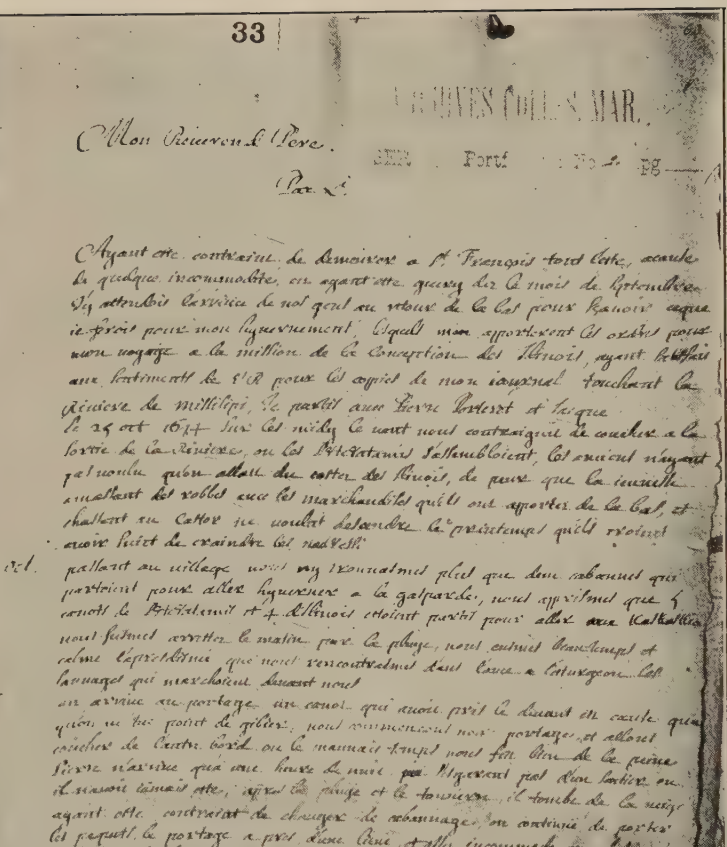


Jolliet

April 4, 1698

9. Signatures of Louis Jolliet

See pp. 173 [98], 174 [101].



33

Mon Reverend Pere.

Pax Xi

Ayant este contrarié de demeurer a St. François tout este, acause de quelque incommodité, en ayant este querry dix Cinq mois de Septembre Vy attendois l'arrivée de mes gens au retour de Ce Cost pour Savoir aquoy ie devois pour mon hyvernement. Quelle mon apportement Ces ordres pour mon voyage a la mission de la Conception des Illinois, ayant Receu avec Contentement de V.R pour Ces esprit de mon ioyeusel touchant Ce Reviere de Mitsisipi. Ie partit avec Pierre Porteret et Jacque Le 25 oct 1674 Sur Ces midy Ce vent nous contrariquit de coucher a la Sortie de la Reviere, ou Ces Sauvages Sallemblerent, Ces anciens n'ayant pas voulu quon allast du coster des Illinois, de peur que Ce ieunesse n'allassent les robber avec Ces marchandises quelz ont apporter de Ce Cost, et Shallerent au Castor ne voulant Descendre Ce printemps quelz n'eussent avoir Suiet de craindre Ces nadversaires

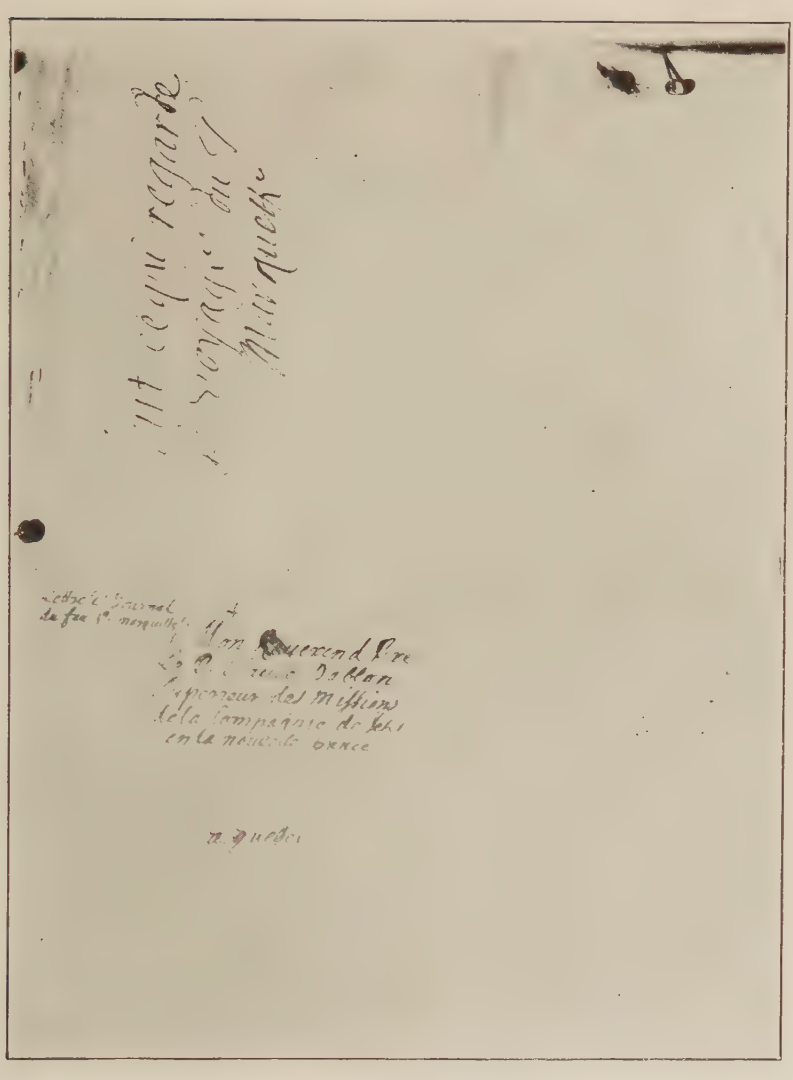
25 oct. pallant au village nous my trouvasmes plus que deux cabanes qui partirent pour aller hyverner a la galparde, nous apprismes que 4 canots de Sauvages et 4 Illinois estoient partit pour aller aux Kathelins nous fusmes arrester Ce matin par Ce pluye, nous entrasmes Beaucoup et calme l'esprit Illinois que nous rencontrasmes dans Ce riviere a Checagoa. Ces Sauvages qui nous Shaisne Suivent nous

en arrivay au portage. un canot qui avoit perit Ce Suivant en Sortie quon ne les point de gilles, nous commencisme nos portages, et allasmes coucher de Costre bord ou Ce mauvais temps nous fit Rester. Ce pierre Pierre n'arrivee que une heure de nuit par Vigueur pas dun bastiz ou il nassoit Sauvages este, apres Ces pluye et la tourmente il tombe de la neige

agant este contrariat de changer de cabanages, on continué de porter Ces paquets, le portage a pres d'une Lieue, et allay rencontrer de Sauvages Illinois. Ces Illinois Voyant abandonné a leur haut notre cabanage demandarent pour ne Sen quitte pas, comme nous pensions avoir Choisi leur Sejour nous consentirent mieux Ce Lac que nous on leur promet

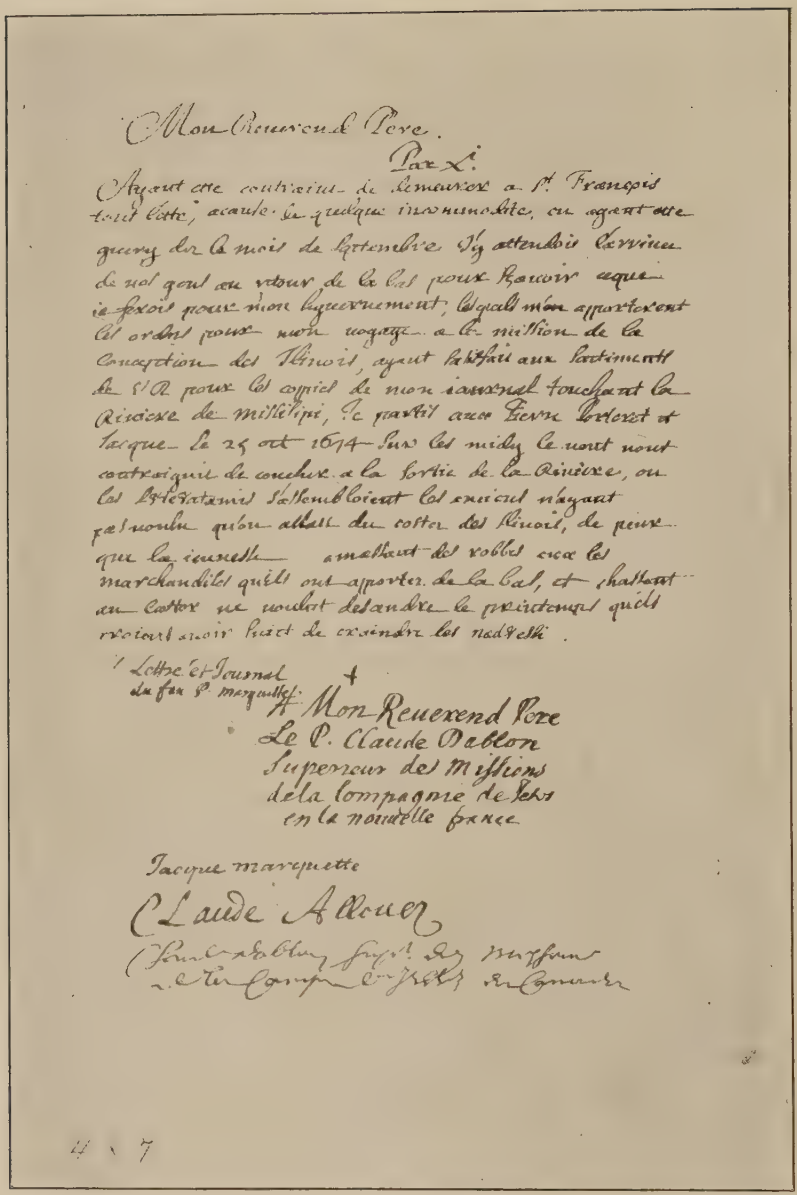
Ces femmes Sauvages achevent Ce matin notre portage, on at arrivé page il nest il my a point de vostel

on porte par un Ces beau temps et Ces vient coucher a une petite riviere Ce riviere de Checagoa pour hyverner ou mi detirer, nous trouvasmes Sauvages et pas Cotrez Checagoua passé, Ce pays nous entretinent dans



11. *Journal* of Marquette — Montreal MS., p. 76

See p. 266 [21].



12. "Letter" of Marquette

See p. 282 [68].

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This MS. contains the following chapters:

a) Chapitre 1er—Du premier Voyage qu'a fait le P. Marquette vers le nouveau Mexique et comment s'en est formé le dessein. (10 Sections).

b) Chapitre Second[1]—Recit du second voyage[2] que le Pere Jacques Marquette a fait aux Ilinois pr y porter la foy, et la glorieuse mort du mesme Pere dans les travaux de cette Mission. (3 Sections).

c) Chapitre 3eme—Recit d'un 3e Voyage fait aux Ilinois Par le Pere Claude Alloüez. (2 Sections).

d) Journal of Father Marquette's second voyage to the Illinois. Entries in the diary extend from October 26, 1674, to April 6, 1675. The Journal is endorsed "A Mon Reverend Pere Le P. Claude Dablon Superieur des Missions de la Compagnie de Jesus en la Nouvelle France—A Quebec." This endorsement is not, like the Journal itself, in the hand of Marquette.

At the end of the cahier is a table of contents in the hand of Father Felix Martin.

2. Relation de la decouverte de La Mer du Sud. Faite par les Rivieres de la nouvelle France envoyée de Quebec par le pere Dablon Supr general des missions de la Compagnie De Jesus. le 1r aoust 1674. Archives du Seminaire de St. Sulpice (Paris).

This MS., comprising 16 pages, is in the hand of Louis Jolliet. He addressed it to Bishop de Laval, adding a letter of his own, dated at Quebec on October 10, 1674.

3. Relation de la decouverte de la Mer du Sud faicte par les rivieres de la Nouvelle France Envoyée de Quebec par le Pere d'Ablon superieur

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[1] The word "Second" is crossed out and replaced by "troisieme." Marquette's Journal was doubtless to comprise "Chapitre Second." There is a note to the effect that "this chapter and the following are in the Relation of 1679." Over the word "troisieme" is written: *"Erreur, c'est le 2e chap."*

[2] A note by F. M. (Felix Martin) refers to "the autograph Journal of F. Marquette at the end of the cahier" and to "the map which he traced with his own hand. F. M."

general des Missions de la compagnie de Jesus. le 1er Aoust 1674. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Moreau, vol. 841, fol. 31-32.

This MS. is endorsed, on the last page over the handwriting, "A Mon R. Pere le P. de Moisne [?] de la Comp. de Jesus. A Reims." In arrangement of subject matter it agrees with the Relation in Jolliet's hand (See No. 2) as also with what is printed in *Relations inédites* (Douniol edition, I, 193-194), for which a Roman MS. was used.

4. Relation de la découverte de plusieurs pais scituez au midy de la nouvelle France. Faite l'année 1673. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Renaudot, vol. 36, fol. 351-353.

This MS. agrees in arrangement of subject matter with what is printed in Margry (I, 262-270), whose version was embodied by Thwaites in *Jes. Rel.* (vol. 58, pp. 92-109). Thwaites supplies in brackets the date August 1, 1674.

5. Relation de la nouvelle france, 1673. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Renaudot, vol. 30, fol. 176-177.

This MS. is a copy of Jolliet's report to Frontenac, drawn up by him in 1674, after his return from the Mississippi. It is printed in Margry (I, 259-263).

6. La Salle—Relation des descouvertes et des voyages du Sieur de la Salle seigneur et gouverneur du Fort Frontenac, au sudouest du Canada, par l'ordre de Monseigneur Colbert. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Clairambault, vol. 1016, fol. 52-88.

This is an original account by La Salle with marginal and interlinear corrections, erasures, and substitutions. It is printed in Margry (I, 435-544; II, 115-159; III, 32-93).

7. La Salle—Original letter of La Salle, relating his voyage down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Clairambault, vol. 1016, fol. 148-150.

This MS. is printed in Margry (II, 288-300).

8. La Salle—Original letter of La Salle, dated at Fort Frontenac on August 22, 1682, describing his voyage to the Illinois country. Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), Collection Clairambault, vol. 1016, fol. 170-187.

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12. Facsimile of Père Marquette's Illinois Prayer Book.

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